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DECEMBER MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the usual list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters accepting their election had been received from Frederick Jackson Turner as a Resident Member, and from Charles William Chadwick Oman, of Oxford, England, as a Corresponding Member.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift to the Society by Miss Dora Walton Russell, of a bas-relief portrait bust of Edward Everett, made by Thomas Ball, in 1859, and given by him to Charles Sumner; and of a John Brown pike. He said that Judge Thomas Russell and his wife, the parents of Miss Russell who gives the pike, gave shelter to Brown in April, 1857, for a week, when he wished to escape capture, and were among the first of his friendly visitors from the north while he was lying in the jail at Charlestown, Virginia. The time when Judge Russell obtained the weapon is not known; but the maker, Blair, sent a dozen spears as samples to Brown in March, 1857, when the latter was at the Massasoit House, Springfield, and it is possible Brown carried some of these to Boston.¹

¹ Villard, *John Brown*, 288, 545. These pikes were not made for the Virginia incursion, but were intended for use in Kansas. In March, 1857, John Brown was in Collinsville, Connecticut, lecturing on Kansas. He then showed a two-edged dirk which had been taken in the Black Jack fight of June, 1856, and stated that if he had a lot of them to attach to poles about six feet long, they would make a capital weapon of defence in Kansas against night attacks on the settlers' cabins. He asked Charles Blair, a blacksmith and forge-master, who stood near, to give him the cost of making five hundred or a thousand. A contract was made for the larger number, but Brown was unable to make the stipulated payments on time, and it was not until June 3, 1859, two years after the date of the contract, that he completed the transaction and took the weapons. The pikes were in Brown's hands in Chambersburg early in September of that year. In the following month occurred his capture. The subsequent history of the pikes is not very different from that of relics of the same character. Found on the Kennedy Farm by Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, these pikes were freely distributed as souve-

Gardiner Weld Allen, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT announced that the preparation of the memoir of Morton Dexter had been assigned to Franklin B. Dexter, a Corresponding Member; and that of James Frothingham Hunnewell to Mr. Kellen.

The PRESIDENT briefly remarked upon the connection of Mr. Hunnewell with the Society, and called upon Mr. KELLEN, who said:

James F. Hunnewell, a Resident Member of this Society since January 11, 1900, died on November 11, 1910, at the age of seventy-eight. He was of the elder type of Bostonian now fast disappearing. He was conventional in dress, manner, speech, habits of thought and action. No one could take a liberty with him or jest with him about what he considered serious. With good New England blood in his veins, he had a keen family pride, and great respect for those bearing like honorable names in the community. He was precise, prompt, punctilious, even meticulous, in the performance of every self-imposed duty. His work was his recreation, his recreation was his work. He was a slave to routine as well as to duty, and performed his round each recurring day according to the methods of his fathers. Throughout life he discharged his correspondence, kept his accounts, wrote his books and papers in the precise longhand he had always used. He knew no other way. He was careful, he was secretive. Perhaps his will just filed in the Probate Office, a lengthy document executed in 1907, when he was seventy-five, reflects as accurate a portrait of the man as could be drawn. It is inartificial, painfully written in his own hand, a mixture of quasi-legal and colloquial

nirs, and for a long time after the raid were sold to passengers on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad trains which stopped at the Harpers Ferry station. The trade became so profitable that imitation pikes were manufactured in the neighborhood and sold to tourists. *Villard*, 283-285, 400-401, 467.

In the Boston Public Library is what is believed to have been the pattern pike which Blair used. It was given by John Brown himself to John Hopper, of New York, a son of the Quaker philanthropist, Isaac T. Hopper, whose life was written by Lydia Maria Child. Hopper gave it to William Lloyd Garrison, in May, 1860, and it passed with the important collection of Garrison mss. which the sons of the great abolitionist gave to the Public Library. When it was shipped to Boston, the handle was cut down, and only some eighteen inches of it now remain. *Letter of Francis J. Garrison to the Editor.*

phrases. To the usual preliminary averment that the testator is "of sound mind" he adds that he acts of his own "judgment and free will." He directs a division of his estate into parts "as appears by my Trial Balance thereof next preceding date to my decease." At the end he carefully states the obvious fact, "This my Will I have written with my own hand." The whole document breathes the spirit of an earlier and more leisurely age and betrays the persistence of the mercantile habit. He notes in parentheses, in directing the payment of his debts, "(No business notes, as so-called, signed or endorsed by me, now exist.)" He gives generous sums absolutely to his family and then creates trusts for the benefit of the same to insure absolute protection. Two provisions will interest the members of this Society as booklovers and as conservative members of the community. Nothing can be more pathetic to a bibliophile than the dispersal of a library upon the death of the owner, who has gathered them slowly and lovingly at much pains and expense, for the reason that his descendants lack the love for books or for books of the kind so collected. Mr. Hunnewell, to guard against this, gives to his son his library "in trust for ultimate disposal, as I shall specify in a letter of advice separate from the present document," but with a further provision that the son, "if he has a child with a love for books and a desire to have and use mine," may transfer the library in whole or in part "to such child subject to conditions . . . for the ultimate disposal of certain collections or parts of my said library that I have with much labor gathered, and can with difficulty be duplicated, and that I feel should ultimately be kept together in permanent and safe custody." With his ever-present secretiveness he adds, "I desire that no Inventory or Catalogue of my Library be made public," except so far as "ultimately disposed of." This letter of advice, it may be said in passing, has not yet been opened, and what the ultimate disposition of the library will be is unknown. Mr. Hunnewell in this connection shows little faith in the perpetuity of one, at least, of our most cherished Institutions. In providing in the Will with great particularity for a "tomb with a catacomb" in Mount Auburn and for the removal thereto, "if necessary," of remains of four forebears from the Old Burial Ground in Phipps Street, Charlestown, he adds, "I think it is

quite possible that such Old Burial Ground and my father's tomb therein may prove a more enduring resting place than Mount Auburn for the four above-mentioned remains. I however, make provision for a possible, though probably remote, contingency." This desire of Mr. Hunnewell to provide for possible, though not probable, contingencies would appear to have led him in another provision, eschewing legal aid, to attempt to tie up a large sum beyond the allowable limit, the effect of which is that the fund will pass at once at the end of a single life into the residue of his estate, instead of much later, as was his evident intention.

He was educated privately and then taken into business by his father, who was engaged in foreign commerce. He, however, retired from active business comparatively early in life, and thenceforward devoted himself sedulously to the variety of pursuits, literary and otherwise, which interested him. He became a persistent traveller, an industrious author, an enthusiastic antiquarian, a local historian, and an omnivorous collector of the rare and the valuable, as well as of the odd and the commonplace, in art and literature. Nothing was too expensive within limits; nothing too trivial — if both came within his line — to be added to his vast and accumulating store.

His father, always described by him as "James Hunnewell, Gentleman," was one of the last of the American overseas merchants. With a branch house at Honolulu, the son was early brought into relations with the Hawaiian Islands. A member of the Hawaiian Club in Boston, he was sometime its President. He edited a diary of his father under the title of the *Journal of the Voyage of the Missionary Packet Boston to Honolulu*, the *Boston* being a little sixty-ton fore-and-aft schooner. He also wrote a book on the *Civilization of the Hawaiian Islands*. Curiously enough, though so extensive a traveller in other parts, he never visited these Islands, and was never nearer Honolulu than San Francisco. His favorite route of travel lay over the "Western Ocean," across which, in craft of every size and speed, he made, early and late, some forty-eight voyages, and mourned because advancing infirmities prevented his rounding out the full fifty he had set his heart upon making. His final voyage of two summers ago carried him to Russia, from which he returned as enthusiastic as from his earliest trip abroad.

Inquiry from a friend how to do Italy after the American habit immediately elicited from Mr. Hunnewell a voluminous itinerary with incidental suggestions for sight-seeing as concise as Rolfe and as detailed as Baedeker.

The Historical Monuments of France, England's Chronicle in Stone and the *Imperial Island* were some of the products of his travels, all revealing close observation and rare industry. But the love of Scott and the close study of the scenes of the novels of the Wizard of the North were his dearest literary passions, and these led to his writing his commentary on the *Lands of Scott*. An allusion to Scott never failed to stir into expression a depth of feeling not habitual to this self-contained American gentleman.

He paid his duty to his native town and its famous battle-field, a corner of which contained his birthplace, through his *Bibliography of Charlestown, Mass., and Bunker Hill*. The loss and removal of old-time neighbors and friends and an uncomfortable change of surroundings led him to remove with his family to Boston, but he still kept the old house, open, warm and cared for, and never thought of moving his library from its walls. It was sentiment, again, which forbade his closing this stately mansion on the slope of the hill across the Charles, and led him daily, as long as strength lasted, to make a pilgrimage to it and to his library within it. What to do with that old house and its out-of-the-way and precious contents is one of the many problems which faces his immediate descendant. His *Records of the First Church, Charlestown*, which parish he was long identified with, was another contribution to the local history of his native place.

He was perhaps seen to the best advantage at the meetings of a small club of congenial spirits, called the "Club of Odd Volumes," and made up of a small knot of collectors, bibliophiles and bibliomaniacs, who gathered all things odd and rare and valuable, artistic, inartistic, it mattered little which so long as they were valuable and the subject of competition. Of this club, made up of faddists distinguished each by his own peculiarities of temper and disposition, Mr. Hunnewell was for a long period the President, and afterwards, until he died, its first Honorary President. In presiding over the meetings of this club he was inimitable. His quaint charm of man-

ner, his generous participation in the enthusiasm of each "Odd Volume," and his happy and humorous turn of expression, seemed to create at the club meetings an atmosphere of detachment from the grovelling and unimportant things of life, such as interest the ordinary "man in the street," and for a time seemed to divorce the club and its members from participation in the disturbing cares and anxieties of life. And time thus spent was by no means wasted. From clubs such as this, the London "Sette of Odd Volumes," The Grolier Club in New York and others, with the rivalries therein created and the zeal so stimulated, many of the great collections here and abroad have been assembled, first in private hands and ultimately — the fortunate fate of all things fine — into great libraries, special or general, and into great museums, for the continuous delight and culture of the race. This finally, it is to be hoped, will be the destiny of the curious and vast collection of books left behind by Mr. Hunnewell.

The range of his active sympathies, as has been said, was wide and his interest in them engrossing. He assumed no burden which he did not carry conscientiously. In his native town he filled nearly, if not quite, every position of trust affecting the public interest: educational, parochial, charitable, fiduciary and financial. A conspicuous son of Charlestown, he was, of course, a director of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. Interested in far-off lands he was at one time an officer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. An antiquarian, he was a member of the American Antiquarian Society; a genealogist, of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; a local historian, of the Bostonian Society; a clubbable man, fond of quietly mixing with his kind, he was a respected member of various social and quasi-literary clubs, the Union Club, the St. Botolph Club and the University Club; of artistic tastes, of the Boston Art Club; with public spirit, of the Massachusetts Reform Club. He received the degree of Honorary A.M. from Beloit College in 1858, not only because of his literary work, but because of valuable assistance rendered by him in straightening out, and putting upon a sound foundation, the finances of the College. There was scarcely an altruistic tendency in the community which did not evoke the effective help of this quiet,

refined, unassuming gentleman. What, however, he prized most in the world was his membership in this honorable Society, at the meetings of which, when not an active participant, he was ever an interested listener, showing his delight and pride in his membership here in his substantial addition to the resources of the Society. The opportunity to draw upon his special field, the history of Charlestown, did not arise during his membership; the two formal papers contributed by him were on the "Early Houses near Massachusetts Bay,"¹ and an "Aid to Glory,"² founded on an old letter-book of the War of 1812 period. His last attendance, if I mistake not, was when with great effort, and at the cost of intense discomfort, he dragged himself here to listen with satisfaction to the announcement of his gift to the Society, and its acknowledgment by his associates; but he was compelled to leave before the meeting was called to order. It should also be stated that Mr. Hunnewell, not long before his death, made to the American Antiquarian Society a gift in money toward its Centennial Fund.

He was a useful man in the community and did his duty to the best of his ability to his family, to his friends and to the societies with which he was connected. He was a delightful gentleman of the old school who passed a long and busy life in good works and helpful agencies, all tending to the betterment of his fellows.

Col. W. R. LIVERMORE read the following paper on

GETTYSBURG.³

Nearly half a century has passed since the battle of Gettysburg; twenty-four centuries since the battle of Marathon. In many respects the art of war has changed more from Gettysburg to the present time than from Marathon to Gettysburg. The soldier of to-day fires five times as far and five times as fast as a soldier of the Civil War, and carries five times as many rounds of ammunition. The artillery pours out continuous streams of projectiles. General Sherman predicted that the battles of the future would be short, sharp and decisive. The

¹ 2 *Proceedings*, XIV. 286.

² *Ib.* XVI. 181.

³ Based upon his "Story of the Civil War." See *Proceedings*, XLIII. 233.

battle of Gettysburg lasted three days and covered an area of twenty-five square miles, but the battle of Mukden lasted for several weeks and covered two hundred times that area.

To study the dispositions and movements of the battle of Gettysburg with a view to copying them now might be a fatal error. To draw up an army of 85,000 men on open ground in a line of three or four miles in length with an average depth of ten solid ranks and in the presence of a hostile army of nearly equal strength, would be to deliver it over to captivity or slaughter

The human factors, however, have not changed and even the forms are not so different as the dimensions.

From a study of the campaigns and battles of our Civil War one can learn much of its principles, not because those campaigns and battles were always well conducted, but because they gave rise to so many military situations, each one of which offers a useful field for study of military problems. We are more concerned now in learning what should have been done in each case, and only incidentally in deciding who was most to blame for not doing it. This is the only war, so far as I know, in which it is possible to follow positions of the troops on both sides throughout a battle or a campaign. Almost every report has been published. In most cases the report as it stands conveys no idea of any value to any one but the writer and his immediate superior, and, in many cases, none to him; but by comparing hundreds of them we may find a hundred equations between a hundred unknown quantities, from which a military expert can learn where almost every man was, from the beginning to the end of a battle.

For military use an exact and detailed knowledge of one battle is worth far more than a general knowledge of a thousand. Military science is quantitative and very complex.

The strategic movements of large bodies of men are not so hard to understand and to direct as complicated movements of a battlefield. A moment of time or a slight preponderance of force on some part of the field may decide the combat there, and the result of this combat may decide the next, until some advantage is gained which will decide the battle, the campaign, the war, and the fate of the nation.

To take advantage of the means at his disposal, the leader

of a modern battle must have a thorough knowledge of the power and endurance of his troops and of the influence of their surroundings, to meet any move of his adversary to the best advantage, and reap the benefit of any error into which he may be persuaded to fall. To form a mental image of the course of a battle while it is in progress in order to direct the movements of troops to these ends, is no easy task, and a careful study of the history of former battles is a great help.

In a short paper like the present, I shall not ask you to follow the detailed account of the campaign and battle of Gettysburg. This would be possible only with the aid of a lantern. We are most of us familiar with the general features, and some of our Society played an important part on the field.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to show whether it was better for the North to fight, or to allow the nation to be torn to fragments, or even to submit to the rule of a Southern oligarchy under the delusive name of compromise. The war had already lasted two years when the campaign of Gettysburg began. The Confederate States were nearly surrounded by the Federal army and navy. The army was crushing it by advancing from the Mississippi, the Cumberland and the Potomac. Grant, after failing in repeated efforts to take Vicksburg, had at last invested it, and Joe Johnston was assembling an army to raise the siege. In the winter Rosecrans had beaten Bragg at Murfreesborough, and in June he was still resting there. On the Potomac, McDowell, Lincoln, Pope, McClellan and Burnside had successively commanded the army. Hooker's turn came next. He started the game with a beautiful gambit, crossed the Rappahannock and came down in force upon Lee's defenceless flank. But Lee did not play the game according to the book, and as Hooker was at a loss to know what to do next, Lee kindly moved the pieces on both sides of the chessboard and stalemated him. It was clear to all that Hooker could not command that army, but it was not easy to find a successor who would be acceptable to all parties. Lincoln's problem was not merely to lead the North in a war against the South, but essentially to unite the small majority of Northerners who had elected him with the large minority who had opposed him and were yet unwilling to see the nation destroyed.

Lee could not wait indefinitely for Lincoln to decide. If he

remained long on the defensive, the chances of war would one day compel him to retreat. All the resources of the country around the Rappahannock had been exhausted. Everything had to be brought by rail from a distance. By taking the offensive he could feed off the enemy's country. Lee had about 72,000 troops on the Rappahannock, Hooker about 85,000 there, and Dix 19,000 at the mouth of the James. Richmond and Washington were both well fortified. Washington had a garrison of about 30,000 men. Richmond had practically none.

All eyes were turned towards Grant and Johnston in Mississippi, and all the troops that could be spared from the North and South were sent to reinforce the respective armies. Lee could spare no troops to send there, but he thought that by invading Maryland and Pennsylvania he would prevent Lincoln from sending troops to Grant, and alarm him so for the safety of Washington that he would not allow Hooker to take Richmond, but would recall his army from the Rappahannock. Lee meanwhile would supply his brave, battered and barefoot troops with food and clothing, by his superior skill take Hooker's army at a disadvantage and destroy it, or perhaps elude it, push on to Baltimore or Philadelphia, levy contributions and take possession of the land. He could not, of course, hope to hold it; but he thought that after such a display of power foreign powers would recognize the Southern Confederacy and raise the blockade, and that the peace party at the North might declare the war a failure.

Lee extended his left wing up the Rappahannock, leaving one third of his army confronting Hooker, who wanted to attack. If Hooker had been competent to command an army, he could have wiped this third out of existence and then turned on the rest of Lee's army. Lincoln suggested that it would be better to attack the movable army. As Lee entered the Department of the Susquehanna, Hooker asked to remove the troops from Harper's Ferry to make a raid on Lee's communications. Halleck refused. Hooker resigned, and, much to the surprise of all, Lincoln appointed Meade to the command of the Army of the Potomac. It is, to say the least, awkward for the command of an army on the eve of battle to be thrown upon an officer's shoulder at so short a notice. Lee's army was

already in Pennsylvania, except Stuart's cavalry, which was near Washington. Ewell's Corps was near York and at Carlisle in sight of Harrisburg, Hill's at Fayetteville, and Longstreet's at Chambersburg. Hooker's had just crossed the Potomac and was massed at Middletown and Frederick. Washington was comparatively safe. Meade's problem was to cover Baltimore and force Lee to retreat or fight him before he could reach Philadelphia. Couch with 10,000 or 12,000 hastily gathered militia was holding the Susquehanna. These troops could not be relied upon in the open, but they could destroy the bridges and delay Lee's passage until Meade could come up in his rear. Part of Lee's supplies came up the Shenandoah valley, the rest he drew from the country. For this he was forced to scatter his army as we have seen it. Now that Meade had come up this was no longer safe, and the further Lee advanced, the more his line of operations would be exposed.

Two courses were open for Meade, — to strike at the fractions of Lee's army before they could concentrate, or to force Lee to attack him to subvert his army and to preserve his own communications. To this end Meade proposed, if necessary, to take up a defensive position behind Pipe Creek, but before deciding to do so, he advanced towards Lee's army to learn what he could of his positions and purposes. He had heard that his troops were scattered from York to Chambersburg and thought that perhaps he could force him to fight at a disadvantage.

In the evening of the 27th Lee, learning for the first time that the Federal army had crossed the Potomac, gave orders for his troops to concentrate at Cashtown, about eight miles west of Gettysburg, and on the 30th of June one of his detachments approaching this point, now well known in history, found it in possession of the Federal cavalry. Lee's own cavalry under Stuart was by some misunderstanding far away with a train of 125 captured wagons, and had given him no warning of Meade's approach. Ten roads from as many points of the compass centre at Gettysburg. As the plan of each leader is, if he fights, to concentrate all his forces against part of his adversary's, Gettysburg suddenly becomes a point of strategic value. If Meade can seize it quickly, he can perhaps throw all his forces between the two wings of Lee's army and force them to fight in detail. If Lee is first to concentrate, Meade may

join battle with him there or withdraw to Pipe Creek. Meade's troops were from twenty-four to six miles from Gettysburg; Lee's, from twenty-four to eight.

The battle of Gettysburg began early in the morning of the 1st of July. Buford, who commanded a division of 4000¹ Federal cavalry, realizing the strategic value of the point, determined to hold it. He dismounted his men behind a ridge west of the town and, by a show of force, detained Heth's division of 8000, of Hill's Confederate corps, supported by Pender's division of 5000, until Reynolds's Federal corps of 11,000 came up and relieved him. Reynolds was killed. Doubleday succeeded him. Presently Ewell with two divisions, or 17,000, of his Confederate corps came from the north against the Federal right and rear; Howard next came up with his corps of 9000, from the south, took command of the Federal forces, left part of his corps on Cemetery Hill, and sent the rest through Gettysburg to confront Ewell, but gave no special direction for placing them or for protecting Doubleday's exposed flank. Nor would he for a while authorize Doubleday to withdraw. Barlow of Schurz's division of Howard's corps, perhaps to retrieve the reputation for cowardice which this corps had acquired through the blunders of Hooker and Howard at Chancellorsville, pushed his brigade to the front and exposed his right flank to Ewell's attack, so that half of Howard's corps was rolled up and driven back through the town to their companions on Cemetery Hill. After the enemy were on Doubleday's front, flank and rear, he was compelled to retire.

By four P. M. about 24,000 Federals and 30,000 Confederates had appeared upon the field. The Federals suffered most in the first day's fight.

Howard drew up his forces in line on Cemetery Ridge, to which they were driven, and for this he was honored with the thanks of Congress. It was a good place to go, and through the efforts of Buford and Reynolds and their officers and men in holding back Heth's and Pender's divisions, Howard was able to occupy it.

At three P. M. Hancock arrived at Gettysburg and assumed the command. Meade had heard of Reynolds's death, and un-

¹ The figures are approximate and intended only for a rough comparison of the opposing forces.

willing to rely upon Howard's judgment had sent Hancock ahead to look over the ground and see whether it would be better to fight there or to fall back on Pipe Creek. Hancock gave orders to establish a line of battle on Cemetery Hill, already partially occupied by Howard.

Slocum's corps of some 8000 then arrived. Hancock sent an aid to Meade to say that he would hold the position until night; that the position of Gettysburg was a very strong one, having for its disadvantage that it might be easily turned, leaving to Meade the responsibility whether the battle should be fought at Gettysburg or at Pipe's Creek. Between five and six o'clock Hancock transferred the command to Slocum, and returned to Taneytown.

Sickles with 4000 men arrived near Gettysburg at half past five P. M. Humphreys with 3000 more of Sickles's corps bivouacked about one mile from Gettysburg.

Hancock's corps of 11,000 bivouacked for the night about three miles south, and Sykes's corps of 11,000 six miles east of Gettysburg. Anderson's Confederate division of 7000 came up at five P. M., and Johnson's at "about dusk." Before daylight 53,000 Federals and 45,000 Confederates had arrived within three miles of Gettysburg.

Humphreys with 3000 and Sykes with 11,000 Federals, and Longstreet with 20,000 Confederates were close at hand.

On the morning of July 2d, about three A. M., Meade met Howard near the Cemetery gate and rode with him over the position then held by his corps.

The position selected for the Federal army is shaped like a fishhook. The shank is formed by Cemetery Ridge, which extends from the Round Tops on the south to Cemetery Hill on the north. From this point the line curves around to the east and then south to Culps Hill, which corresponds to the point of the hook. Both of the extremities of this line are strong and capable of defence by infantry against superior numbers.

At eight A. M. on July 2d nearly all of the Federal army except the Sixth Corps had assembled on Cemetery Ridge, Culps Hill, and the ground in its immediate neighborhood.

The Confederate army was on the hills around. Longstreet's corps, which had camped four miles in the rear, was just coming up.

Fitzhugh Lee says of his uncle on the evening of the 1st: "Lee, impressed with the idea of whipping his opponent in detail, was practically ready and eager for the contest next day, and so was his confident army. . . . He was anxious to attack before the Union Army could concentrate."

At five P. M. July 1st, Longstreet reported to Lee on Seminary Ridge: "We could not call the enemy to a position better suited to our plans. All that we have to do is to file around his left and secure good ground between him and his capital." "If he is there to-morrow," said Lee, "I will attack him." Longstreet was astonished. "If he is there to-morrow, it will be because he wants you to attack. . . . If that height has become the objective, why not take it at once? We have forty thousand men, less the casualties of the day; he cannot have more than twenty thousand."

Lee finally decided that Longstreet should commence the battle by a forward movement on Hill's right, seize the commanding positions of the enemy's left, and envelop and enfilade the flank of the troops in front of the other two corps.

Fitzhugh Lee says: "Lee's plan of battle was simple. His purpose was to turn the enemy's left flank with his First Corps, and after the work began there, to demonstrate against his lines with the other two in order to prevent the threatened flank from being reinforced, these demonstrations to be converted into a real attack as the flanking wave of battle rolled over the troops in their front."

Lee did not like Ewell's bent line, but Ewell did. Lee decided to let him remain. At eleven A. M. on the 2d he gave a positive order to Longstreet to move to his right and attack.

If Lee had been correct in his estimate of the relative strength of the opposing forces on the morning of the 2d, it would have been advisable to attack as soon as possible, but he was entirely wrong. He was the greatest general of his day, but his repeated successes appear to have led him to believe that he could run great risks in dealing with the Army of the Potomac and its leaders. His chief care seems to have been to make his victory as decisive as possible.

Meade's line was about three miles long, with an average depth of ten solid ranks, and this line Lee proposed to attack

with an inferior force, extended along a line of about six miles.

The position at Gettysburg, although not an especially good one, was too strong to be attacked in front. The extremities of the line at the Round Tops on the south and at Culps Hill on the northeast were very strong, and as long as they were held the line could not be enfiladed from their direction.

South of the Round Tops the ground falls off into comparatively level country which was partially wooded, but nowhere impassable for infantry and traversed by lanes quite practicable for artillery. This appears to be the key to the whole position.

Knowing as we do that the Federal army was superior in numbers to the Confederate, it follows that if both had been properly handled the Federals would have been successful.

If Meade had been paralyzed as Hooker had been, Lee might have concentrated all his forces on Cemetery Hill or on the Round Tops, attacking either position from all possible sides at once with a fair prospect of success. Any position like this can be turned. Lee proposed to attack the left of the Federal line. He could hope for success only by concentrating there the main body of his army and keeping the rest of it out of action while making demonstrations to deceive Meade as to the point of attack.

As soon as he had decided that Longstreet was to attack, he knew that Ewell's Corps should be withdrawn; but as his nephew says: "Lee to the strong courage of the man united the loving heart of the woman. . . . He had a reluctance to oppose the wishes of others or to order them to do anything that would be disagreeable and to which they would not consent. 'Had I Stonewall Jackson at Gettysburg,' he said, 'I would have won a great victory,' . . . because he knew it would have been sufficient for Jackson to have known his general views without transmitting positive orders and that Stonewall, quick and impatient, would have been driving in the enemy's flank ere the rays of the morning sun lifted the mists from the Round Tops."

His tender-hearted nature was a source of strength and enabled him to do with his men what he could not have done without it, but it is safe to say that he would not have yielded to its promptings if he had not thought he would succeed, and it is

most improbable that he would have thought he could succeed if he had not already violated the soundest principles of grand tactics with impunity.

Gettysburg may be regarded as the last act of the drama that began at Chancellorsville, where, knowing the weakness of his adversary and perhaps by despairing of a better course, he had divided and subdivided his army in the presence of superior forces and yet had driven them back across the Rappahannock.

At Gettysburg the immediate danger was not so great, because the wings of his army were not so widely separated, but the chance of success was no greater, because there was no part of the battlefield where he could expect to bring force enough to outweigh the advantage which the enemy derived from his intrenchments. Lee must have hoped to attack before Meade could concentrate, and he must also have believed that the morale of the Federal army had been so completely shattered by successive defeats that he could neglect the principles of grand tactics, which he understood, at least as well as any man on the battlefield. He thought that it was better to risk the consequences of a false move rather than offend his subordinates or demoralize his own army. He was gambling in the art of war.

The movements of the second and third day's fight are too complicated to be discussed in so short a paper as this. [The speaker then traced them on the maps which he had prepared.]

Col. Thomas L. Livermore estimates the effectives of the Army of the Potomac at 83,289, losses at 23,049; of the Army of Northern Virginia, effectives 75,054, losses 28,063. Meade estimates ¹ that Sickles's faulty movement on the second day practically destroyed his own corps, caused a loss of fifty per cent in Sykes's and very heavily damaged Hancock's, producing sixty-six per cent of the loss of the whole battle, and with what result? Driving us back to the position he was ordered to hold originally.

Pickett's and Pettigrew's charge on the third day has rightly been termed the high tide of the Rebellion. Some have placed it at Murfreesborough, some at Vicksburg, but the vote of Themistocles has been cast for Gettysburg.

By holding his position, or, as we may say, standing pat, after the repulse of Pickett's charge, Meade insured the retreat of

¹ *Battles and Leaders*, III. 414.

the Confederate army, the safety of the North, and the opening of the Mississippi. It was no ordinary task to direct the movements of the Army of the Potomac, so capable, so intelligent, so long-suffering under incompetent leaders. Some unforeseen contingency or the mistake of a single commander might perhaps have turned Meade's victory into a defeat. To have accomplished so great a task within a few days from the time he was placed in command was the work of no ordinary talent, and Meade is well worthy of the praise he has received for turning the tide of the Rebellion.

If, on the other hand, as soon as Pickett had fallen back, Meade had launched the Fifth and Sixth Corps upon his flank, Lee's army would probably have been routed, and the war might have ended in a few months. As it was, after this campaign was over, and before Meade's army was ready to fight, part of his troops were sent to Chattanooga. The winter set in before he had made material progress. In the spring of 1864 Grant came to the East. If he had come to the Army of Northern Virginia and Lee had come to the Army of the Potomac, it is not impossible that the war would have ended then and there. It dragged on for another year, but after Gettysburg with much less hope for the Confederacy.

If, however, on the 4th of July, 1863, Vicksburg and Philadelphia had fallen, the Father of Waters would flow unvexed to the sea. The Confederacy would be cut in two, and the North would be forced, perhaps, to recognize the independence of two more nations upon this continent instead of one. Louis Napoleon might reduce the number. The war would end for a time, but the North would become a military nation inspired, as President Lincoln said, by the resolve that the dead on this hallowed ground "shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The PRESIDENT then read extracts from a paper on

THE WEEMS DISPENSATION.

Sending to my brother, Henry Adams, one of our Honorary Members, a copy of the recent Serial of the Society contain-

ing his paper on the Secession Winter of 1860-1861, I some days ago received from him an acknowledgment, in which was the following reference to my own paper, in the same Serial, on "Washington and the Revolutionary Cavalry": "Before publishing your last word on Washington, I hope you happened on Pickering's criticism of his military abilities, which I stumbled upon in the Pickering manuscripts in the Historical Society's collections. Pickering was quite as sharp on George Washington as he was on John Adams. The paper ought to be dated rather late, — at all events, I should say, after 1800. I found it very amusing as coming from the military head of the New England Federalists."

I had already come across one excerpt on this head from the Pickering MSS. in G. W. Greene's *Life of General Nathanael Greene*. This, I referred to in the paper relating to the Strategy of the Campaign of 1777 (*supra*, 58). As Mr. Henry Adams's letter seemed to indicate that in the Pickering MSS. there were still other notes and memoranda on the same topic, I asked our editor, Mr. Ford, if he would kindly look them up. He has done so; and I have, as my brother intimated I would, found them as reading matter not only distinctly "amusing," but extremely suggestive. Indeed I, at times, met in them not only verification of the conclusions I had already reached and expressed, but, in one case at least, a similarity of language which would lead any one examining both papers confidently to assert that in preparing my own I was, without acknowledgment, quoting Pickering. The memoranda referred to have, moreover, great additional historical value, coming, as they do, from one who at the time of writing was the acknowledged head of the New England Federalists, and who previously had been both Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General of Washington's army. Later, Pickering was also a member of Washington's Cabinet (1791-1797), serving successively as Postmaster-General, Secretary of War and, finally, as Secretary of State. Thus scarcely any of his contemporaries had equal occasion or opportunity to observe and study Washington's character and methods, both military and civil. Born in 1745, Pickering was thirteen years Washington's junior. When serving as Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General, Pickering was between thirty-

two and thirty-seven. When in the Cabinet he was a man of fifty. Though of narrow mind and apt to be both prejudiced and set in opinion, Pickering had distinctly his elements of strength. Twelve years older than Alexander Hamilton, he and Hamilton were closely associated both as members of Washington's military family, and later as his political advisers. Pickering early fell under Hamilton's magnetic influence, and, appreciating to the full his "transcendent abilities," was not only his political adherent but unquestionably reflected his opinions and judgments as respects men no less than measures. The notes in question are not only quite voluminous, aggregating together, I should say, some fifty typewritten pages; but they were written at different times down even to the closing year of Pickering's life. They were evidently intended as historical memoranda. As our Editor proposes to print the essential portions of them,¹ I shall not include any of them, or extracts from them, as part of the present paper. There are, however, certain other topics, relating more or less directly to the same subject, with which I propose now to deal at some length; thus concluding, I hope, a series of studies begun no less than fifteen years ago, though in the interval most intermittently pursued.

In the paper submitted by me at the October meeting of the Society, relating strictly to military topics, I had occasion to refer to Carlyle's *Life of Frederick the Great* (*supra*, 40). In the foot-note specifying the place of my reference I remarked that, while this work was indisputably one of genius, it was, as a military narrative, undeniably irritating. On almost every page of Carlyle's dramatic account of the Second Silesian War, it is apparent that the narrator was wholly devoid of familiarity with the details of practical, matter-of-fact warfare — marching, camping, eating, manœuvring, fighting. But in the course of my investigations in the preparation of the paper referred to, this lack I found by no means confined to Carlyle or the *Life of Frederick the Great*. The civilian narrator — Shakespeare's "bookish theorick" — is indeed, especially in his description of battles and critical movements, apt both to draw rather heavily on his own imagination and to accept

¹ Some, not altogether sufficient or satisfactory, extracts will be found in Pickering, *Life of Timothy Pickering*, II. 79-110.

somewhat implicitly the imaginings of others no better informed than himself. Again, actual participants in military operations are proverbial for telling their experiences over and over, generally with additions and a constant tendency to embellishment, until they become themselves actual believers in their own distortions and inventions. Such garrulous fabrications are then accepted by investigators as eyewitness evidence; and, once made a part of the accepted record, pass thereafter as history, until, by some one, peremptorily challenged. A striking example of this can be found by reading Washington Irving's detailed account of an important incident alleged to have occurred at Brooklyn, Long Island, August 29, 1776 (*Washington*, Chap. xxxii.), in connection with Bancroft's Note to the fifth chapter of Epoch IV of his *History* (Cent'l ed., v. 388, 389), in which he rejects the whole story as an untrustworthy and most improbable octogenarian reminiscence.

While pursuing the recent investigations referred to I came across another striking illustration of this — an illustration of a thoroughly irritating character — in Professor George Washington Greene's *Life* of his grandfather, Major-General Nathanael Greene. I now call attention to it merely *exempli gratia*. Professor Greene is describing the outcome of the battle fought at Germantown, near Philadelphia, October 4, 1777. It is merely necessary here to say that this action was an attempt at surprise by General Washington, at the head of the Patriot army, and at first was partially successful. When, however, the British rallied from something closely approaching the panic not infrequently the result of an early and wholly unexpected morning attack, the Patriot army speedily sustained a reverse, and was compelled to retreat. Lord Cornwallis was that day in command of the British reserves. Professor Greene thus describes what then occurred:

Cornwallis had now joined the pursuers with fresh troops, and they pressed on with new vigor. Pulaski's cavalry, who formed a rear-guard, shrinking from their fire, rode over the second [Greene's] division, which broke and scattered, mistaking them for the enemy's dragoons. It seemed for a moment as if the artillery must be lost. To allay the confusion and save it, Greene ordered the men to lay hold of each other's hands, and thus form a firm line again. The

balls, all this time, were whistling round him, and his officers looked anxiously at his reckless exposure of his person. But he well knew where men turn for encouragement in danger, and what a strengthening power there is in a firm brow and cheerful countenance. Queues and curls were the head-dress of the day. A musket-ball struck off Captain Burnet's queue as he was riding at the General's side. "Burnet," said Greene, "you had better jump down, if you have time, and pick up your queue." "And your curl, too, General," answered Burnet, observing that another ball had just taken off one of his commander's curls. Greene laughed, and all held on their way, lighter-hearted and more cheerful for the well-timed jest.¹

As one not wholly without experience in actual warfare and who has himself not infrequently been in fairly immediate contact with hostile forces, I must confess to finding it somewhat difficult, when dealing with such a narrative, to observe a becoming restraint of language; for, not merely "bookish," it is puerile. One would imagine the description to be, not of a life-and-death combat, on the outcome of which might depend the fate of a cause, but of a boy's snow-ball fight on Boston Common. In the midst of a confused retreat, with bullets whistling and striking, the pursuit so hot that the artillery was in great danger of instant capture, "Greene ordered the men to lay hold of each other's hands, and thus form a firm line again!"

In case of such an extraordinary and previously unheard-of tactical performance, it would be interesting to inquire what the men did with their muskets when they thus clasped hands. Did they throw them away, or did they hold them in their mouths? Did they then, firmly clasping each other's hands, chant a hymn; or did the Major-General commanding hearten his followers by singing a comic song? As the British, under Cornwallis, had no cavalry, and it was a case of infantry pressing close on infantry, the thought naturally suggests itself, how was such an attack to be better resisted by the joining of hands? A "division" is a military body composed of a number of lesser organizations — brigades, regiments, companies — each under the exclusive command of its own officers. Did the major-general commanding in this action at once supersede all his subordinates, and assume immediate direction of the

¹ *Life of Major-General Nathanael Greene*, I. 480-481.

entire division, reduced *pro hac vice* to the grade of a platoon? If, however, such statements are made in a grave historical narrative, it seems but proper the authority on which they are made should be indicated. This, Professor Greene omitted. It would, however, be not unsafe to assert that the ungiven authority for the above performance, if it also was not an octogenarian's reminiscence, was himself not experienced. That such an idle tradition should find its place in sober history, prepared nearly eighty years after the event, is the reverse of creditable.

Not satisfied with this extraordinary clasping of hands battle-trick, Professor Greene then goes on to tell us how the queues and curls of the Major-General commanding and his accompanying staff officer were shot away by musket balls as if cleanly cut off by shears, and he recounts the humorous remarks thereupon indulged in; further, he adds that, after this display of wit and nerve, they all, soldiers and officers, "held on their way, lighter-hearted and more cheerful for the well-timed jest." It is, or ought to be, needless to say that this style of writing degrades history. Any one who has chanced to have been concerned in active warfare, and has participated in the dangers and exigencies of a retreat while holding in check a hotly pursuing enemy, does not need to be told that such an occasion is not one for jest or repartee. Men are dropping; nor is the whistling of bullets in immediate proximity to one's own person in any degree incitive of mirth, though on occasion it may be of attempts at a somewhat foolish display of bravado. Except by school teachers and others of the less informed, such a narrative is, of course, at once discounted. Meanwhile, if taken seriously, anything less characteristic, or more discreditable to a commanding officer like Greene, could hardly be devised. On such an occasion he has other things to think of than curls and queues, which, be it incidentally observed, bullets tear but do not cut away. Neither, with his men dropping about him and his wounded left to the mercy of the enemy, is a commander on such an occasion in either a light-hearted or a jesting mood; nor are jests "well-timed."

Passing to a different narrator, and another memorable incident, in a somewhat curious book, published at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822, entitled *Anecdotes of the Revolution-*

ary War, by Alexander Garden, of Lee's Legion, also aide-camp to Major-General Greene, I have come across the passage I propose next to quote. Apparently the account of a participant, it relates to one of the very memorable but much disputed topics of the Revolutionary War, — the operations on Long Island, in August, 1776, and Washington's successful withdrawal from Brooklyn as the outcome of those operations. They have often been described. The conclusion drawn therefrom by some is, that both operations and withdrawal reflect great credit on Washington's military capacity; while others have maintained that, caught in a position of his own choosing which could not be justified from any correct military point of view, the American commander owed his escape to the inertness of his opponent, and a curious and quite fortuitous combination of factors.

The following is the description which Garden, certainly a contemporary and probably, as I have said, a participant, gives of the operations referred to:

Without the affectation of habitually indulging in serious meditation, or contemplating with reverential awe the beneficence of the Deity — without presuming to boast a pious gratitude, to which I can have, when compared with men of more serious temper, but slight pretension, I conscientiously declare, that in no contest that I ever heard, or read of, has the favour and protection of the Almighty, appeared to incline with such preference, and been manifested in such multiplied occurrences, as in the war which separated the United States from the dominion of Great Britain (p. 324). . . .

After the disastrous battle on Long-Island, and the retreat of the American forces within their lines at Brooklyn, there can be but little doubt, but that these might have been carried by assault, had the British General profited by the ardour of his troops, elate with victory, and eager to reap new honours, to lead them to the attack. But, happily for America, he adopted the more prudent plan of seeking superiority by regular approaches, and of waiting the co-operation of the fleet. The situation of the Americans in their camp, was critical in the extreme. A superior enemy in their front, their defences trivial and incomplete, their troops fatigued and discouraged, and the English fleet ready (though previously prevented by a North-East wind) to enter the river, which would preclude the possibility of retreat, and leave them no alternative but

to surrender. General Washington viewed the impending catastrophe, and at once determined to evacuate the position and withdraw to New York. The passage was, in the first instance, prevented by a violent wind from the North-East, and the ebbing tide, which ran with too great violence to be encountered, when fortunately it veered to the North-West, which rendered the passage perfectly secure. But, in a still more miraculous manner the interposition of Providence became manifest. A thick fog involved the whole of Long Island in obscurity, covering the retreat of the American forces, while the air was perfectly clear on the side of New York, and nine thousand men, the artillery, baggage, camp equipage, and munitions of war, were brought off, without loss. The rising sun dispersing the fog, the British saw with astonishment, that the Americans had abandoned their position, and were already beyond the reach of pursuit (pp. 326, 327).

Mr. Garden, whose rank in the Revolutionary Army I have not ascertained,¹ then adds the following footnote, strongly suggestive of certain very similar theological observations and trite reflections which in the succeeding generations emanated from Washington Irving:²

A clerical friend to whom I related this interesting fact, made the following reply: "The interposition of Providence in the affairs of nations, has been too often witnessed to be called in question. What you have now stated, will bring forcibly to the mind of every religious reader, the wonderful display of God's Providence to the Israelites in the passage of the Red Sea. The pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them: And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness to them, but it gave light by night to these." But for the interposition of this *cloud* of darkness to the Egyptians, they would have overwhelmed the Israelites upon the sea-shore. And but for the Providential intervention of the *fog* upon Long Island, which was a *cloud* resting on the earth, the American army would have been destroyed, and the hopes of every patriot bosom extinguished, perhaps for ever (p. 327 n).

As I have already remarked, this withdrawal of the Patriot army from Brooklyn, across the East River to New York, has commonly been referred to, especially by the "standard"

¹ He served as volunteer aid to General Greene, but had no rank.

² *Washington* (Geoffrey Crayon ed.), II. 391.

American authorities, as a feat displaying remarkable military capacity on the part of Washington. Fiske, for instance, becomes enthusiastic over it as a "brilliant incident," displaying "extraordinary skill."¹ On this point I shall have something to say presently. Meanwhile, it cannot be denied that American historical writers have availed themselves to the utmost of the opportunity thus afforded. As Trevelyan truly says (Pt. II. v. I. 292) "it may be doubted whether any great national deliverance, since the passage of the Red Sea, has ever been more loudly acclaimed, or more adequately celebrated." For instance, one, a man himself not without military experience, thus dilates upon it: "The retreat from Brooklyn was a signal achievement, characteristic of Washington's policy and of the men who withdrew under his guidance. . . . their Commander-in-Chief had his own plan, as before Boston, which he did not reveal to his officers until it was ripe for execution." Early on the morning of August 29, orders were issued to General Heath, Quartermaster-General, instructing him "'to impress every craft, on either side of New York, that could be kept afloat, and had either oars, or sails, or could be furnished with them, and to have them all in the East River by dark.' The response to these orders was so promptly made that the boats reached the foot of Brooklyn Heights just at dusk that afternoon."²

It is almost needless to say that, from any exact military point of view, this statement is both inaccurate and misleading. Yet Trevelyan repeats it (*Ib.* 287-288), and Fiske dilates upon it (I. 211). Washington was not, however, the utter military simpleton such ill-considered admiration would indicate. He had not put himself and his army into a most dangerous position depending wholly, or in chief, on some suddenly improvised means of extrication. The order to Heath was, it is true, issued, and a certain amount of transportation undoubtedly was collected in obedience to it, and concentrated at the ferry; but the bulk of the means of transfer required was already at the point where it was needed. For weeks Washington had been moving troops, munitions and supplies across the river, — 2000 men, for instance, on the day previous to

¹ *American Revolution*, I. 211, 212.

² Carrington, *Washington the Soldier*, 110.

the withdrawal, that following the disastrous Flatbush affair. The transportation thus hurriedly gathered together was, therefore, merely supplementary. The mass of what was required had already long before been provided.

The narrative referred to then proceeds as follows:

From about nine o'clock until nearly midnight, through wind and rain, — company by company, — sometimes grasping hands to keep companionship in the dense gloom, — speechless and silent, so that no sound should alarm the enemy, — feeling their way down the steep steps then leading to Fulton ferry, and feeling their way as they were passed into the waiting water-craft, these drenched and weary men took passage for New York. The wind and tide were so violent that even the seamen soldiers of Massachusetts could not spread a close reefed sail upon a single vessel; and the larger vessels, upon which so much depended, would have been swept to the ocean if once entrusted to the current. For three hours, all the boats that could be thus propelled, had to depend upon muffled oars. The difficulties of such a trip, on such a night, can be realized better by a moment's reflection. There is no record of the size of the waves, or of narrow escapes from upset, no intimation that there was competition in entering the boats and rivalry in choice of place — that each boat-load was landed hastily and that the boats themselves were leaky and unsafe; but any person who proposes to himself an imaginary transit over the East river under their circumstances, can supply the data he may need to appreciate the process.¹

Rewriting this account for another edition of his work, many years later, the same authority modified it in this wise:

As early as nine o'clock, and within an hour after the "general beat to arms," the movement began, — systematically, steadily, company by company, as orderly as if marching in their own camp. A fearful storm still raged. Drenched and weary, none complained. It was Washington's orders. Often hand-in-hand, to support each other, these men descended the steep, slippery slopes to the water's edge, and seated themselves in silence; while increasing wind and rain, with incessant violence, constantly threatened to flood, or sink, the miserable flat-boats which were to convey them to the city, only a few hundred yards away. And thus until midnight.

¹ Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution* (3d ed.), 217.

At that hour the wind and tide became so violent that no vessel could carry even a closely reefed sail. The larger vessels, in danger of being swept out to sea, had to be held fast to shore; dashing against each other, and with difficulty kept afloat. Other boats, with muffled oars, were desperately but slowly propelled against the outgoing tide. A few sickly lanterns here and there made movement possible. The invisible presence of the Commander-in-Chief seemed to resolve all dangers and apparent confusion into some pervasive harmony of purpose among officers and men alike, so that neither leaking boats nor driving storm availed to disconcert the silent progress of embarking nearly ten thousand men.

Just after midnight, both wind and tide changed. The storm from the north which had raged thus long, kept the British fleets at their anchorage in the lower bay. At last, with the clearing of the sky and change of wind, the water became smooth, and the craft of all kinds and sizes, loaded to the water's edge, made rapid progress. Meanwhile, strange to relate, a heavy fog rested over the lower bay and island, while the peninsula of New York was under clear starlight.¹

No authorities are referred to for the somewhat highly wrought statements here so precisely and positively made. I have in vain sought to ascertain even the real weather conditions on the night in question. The author from whose work I have quoted says that the American and British archives and biography are full of contemporaneous data which it would require volumes to quote. As a result of a fairly careful search, in which I have been aided by the present Editor of the Society, I, on the contrary, have been quite unable to find any detailed and reliable meteorological statement of the conditions hour by hour prevailing during the three days of the Brooklyn operations, and, more especially, during the night referred to in the foregoing extract.

The elementary and fundamental facts in the case are simple enough. Washington, misled by his own experience in and about Boston the year previous, and Charles Lee's more recent experience at Fort Moultrie, before Charleston, in June, 1776, — Washington, confident of his ability to protect New York and repel the invader, had put himself and his army in an impossible military position. As Trevelyan very truly observes: "The incurable faultiness of the situation, in which Washing-

¹ *Washington the Soldier* (ed. 1898), III.

ton had allowed himself to be placed, was painfully visible. He was under the necessity of keeping the halves of his own inferior force separated from each other by an arm of the sea, which the British fleet might at any moment render impassable for his rafts and barges; while Howe, by the aid of that fleet, could throw the whole of his superior strength on any point along the extensive coast-line which encircled the American position." (Pt. II. v. I. 271-272.) Trevelyan, it will be noticed, uses the words "had allowed himself to be placed"; but it would have been more correct to say "had placed himself": for, to his credit be it always said, Washington, manly and straightforward, never in this case tried to shirk responsibility, or, after the disaster inevitably following his faulty strategy had been incurred, endeavored to make it appear that from political considerations or because of the insistence of an unreasonable and exacting Congress voicing a public demand both ignorant and clamorous, he had been forced into a position against which his own better military judgment at the time rebelled. Neither did he seek cover behind the advice of a council of war. On the contrary, the very morrow of the disaster before Brooklyn and the withdrawal to New York, September 2, he frankly wrote to the President of Congress: "Till of late I had no doubt in my own mind of defending this place; nor should I have yet, if the men would do their duty, but this I despair of." None the less, as the result showed, not only the town of New York, but the whole of both Manhattan and Long Islands, under the conditions of the opposing forces, naval and military, not only then were, but from the beginning had been, from any sound point of view, impossible of successful defense. Indeed, any attempt to defend them was a challenging of disaster which might well be complete and final. With a wholly insufficient army, necessarily so divided that one portion could not sustain the other, his enemy, in complete control of the sea, had but to select his point of attack and subsequent line of operations; and to those familiar with that locality, it is still a mystery, why, under cover of the fleet, Howe did not go up the comparatively unobstructed Hudson to Bloomingdale and land about where Sixtieth Street now is, three miles above the outskirts of the New York of that day; and then, crossing a strong division of his army to the East side, sweep

down on Washington, by the Boston road, now Third Avenue, forcing him into the East River. To counteract such a movement it would have been necessary for the Americans precipitately to withdraw their forces from the Brooklyn side of the East River, and concentrate them at the point of British attack. This movement would have consumed much important time if, in presence of a detachment of the British fleet in the East River, practicable at all. The combined British naval and military forces could have effected the manœuvre with certainty and ease, the broadsides of the fleet then covering the Bloomingdale, or Albany road, now Broadway, and demoralizing the flank and rear of the Patriots just as they demoralized and broke the Patriot line of battle a fortnight later at Kips Bay. The weight of attack then being down the East side, the Patriots would have been between two fires. From both the strategic and the tactical points of view the movement was so obvious and its success so certain that the failure of the Howes to adopt it must forever remain unaccountable. They elected, however, to attack Washington squarely on his Brooklyn front, with his army cut in two by the East River and the rear of his engaged force uncovered on the water side. Even that situation was bad enough for the Patriots; in fact could not have been from the military point of view much worse or more ill-considered.

It was now late in August, and in August the prevailing winds on the American Atlantic seaboard are from the south and west; and a south or west wind would carry the British ships with free sheets straight from their Staten Island anchorage up either the North or the East rivers. From Brooklyn's water front they could co-operate with the army's advance from Gravesend. This was the plan of the two Howes — the Admiral and the General; and it was a good and feasible plan. Not so good or so feasible as a combined movement by way of the North River and down by the Boston road, but still a good plan; one with all the chances in its favor. The single possible disturbing factor would be a prolonged storm from the northeast — that most unusual occurrence in latter August. But now again it was the unusual that happened. So far as the land force was concerned, every move was carried out in strict conformity with the programme. Win-

ning by an obvious but fairly skillful flanking operation an easy and complete victory, General Howe pressed the undefeated portion of the Patriot army back under the guns of Lord Howe's fleet, had the fleet been where it was proposed it should be. It was not there; the northeast wind blew in its teeth. One frigate only, better handled than the rest, worked into position, and that single frigate made short work of Washington's flanking battery at Red Bank. The Patriot rear and line of retreat were exposed.

It was now only a question of the continuance of a New York August storm. For Washington and that half of his army which thus found itself cooped up within the lines at Brooklyn, the situation was desperate. As soon as the weather permitted, the British fleet, moving before the wind up the East River, would cut the Patriot army hopelessly in two, while General Howe, assailing the Brooklyn half in front, would drive it under the broadsides of Lord Howe's ships. It was for Washington no case of choice or election; manifestly, there was but one thing to be done. The army must be withdrawn to the mainland, — got out of the hole it was in, if to get it out was possible.

The continuance of the northeast storm was the one essential factor in a successful solution of the problem. Curiously enough, the authorities have little to say on this topic; and what they do assert is generally, where not altogether imaginary, only partially sustained by references. Trevelyan says that on the morning of the 27th, the day of Howe's advance and the battle before Brooklyn, "the sun rose with a red and angry glare." A summer storm was brewing; and the wind, veering to the north from the east, must have been strong, for Lord Howe reports that "the ships could not be worked up to the distance proposed." Though the historians are silent on the point, it was probably a knowledge of this fact and the consequent failure of the proposed naval co-operation, which caused General Howe to desist from following up his early success. Never to follow up a success on the field energetically was characteristic with him, — he failed so to do at Bunker Hill, on Manhattan Island and in New Jersey, and again at Brandywine and during the Valley Forge winter; but on Long Island he could hardly have helped so doing had he

heard his brother's guns in the East River. He must then have gone forward, and finished up the job. All that day (27th) the storm seems to have been gathering. The next day we know it blew and rained; but while the rain interfered with the work in the trenches and kept the soldiers in their huts, the sea was not so rough as to interfere with the operation of the ferry, or prevent the transfer of two thousand of Washington's army from the New York side to the Brooklyn lines. Why, after the disaster of the previous day and the fact, now become manifest, that only the uncertain prevalence of a northeast storm prevented the British army and navy combined from cutting Washington's army in two, and impounding him and the bulk of it in narrow and segregated limits, — why this now obvious fact had not forced itself on Washington's notice, is neither disclosed nor discussed. But, as an historical fact, reinforcements were hurried over. The bringing them over was an inexplicable mistake; they were simply so many more to get back again, or to be made prisoners when the wind worked into the west, — to-morrow, perhaps; certainly within a few days. The atmospheric conditions this day (28th) seem to have culminated; for in the afternoon "a great rain and hail storm came on, attended with thunder and lightning." By the morning of the 29th the quite abnormal conditions seem to have worn themselves out; "a dense fog covered land and sea," consequently there could have been no heavy rain nor driving wind. This seems to have continued pretty much all that day, necessarily holding Lord Howe's ships at their anchorage. Co-operation by land and sea was not yet possible; so General Howe waited. The succeeding night Washington got away.

During that night what weather conditions prevailed? On this interesting topic the historians are curiously at odds among themselves. On no single point do they seem to agree; not even on the one astronomically ascertainable point, the age of the moon, and the consequent luminous character of the atmosphere. One writer, already cited, says it was so pitchy dark that the men had to feel their way down to the ferry and into the boats; another says (Fiske, I. 212) that "during the night the moon shone brightly." But a third (Bancroft, v. 336) comes with the assertion that, though it was the night of the

full moon, these moonlit hours were marked by "a heavy rain and continued adverse wind." According to a fourth authority (Irving, *Washington*, II. 389, 390) "there was a strong wind from the north-east," but a "dense fog prevailed"; a most improbable meteorological combination, considering that "the atmosphere was clear on the New York side of the river." We are then informed that the strong "adverse wind" most opportunely died away and a "favoring breeze," from the opposite direction "sprang up." Not without reason is it declared that these somewhat surprising and altogether conflicting conditions "seemed almost providential." If they ever actually occurred, as is altogether improbable, they were distinctly and indisputably providential. Nothing at all resembling them is to be found in the prosaic records of the modern weather bureau; the single authenticated precedent is biblical.

Putting aside this fantastic combination — Egyptian darkness in a night of the full moon, a dense fog prevailing in the face of a driving tempest, a drenching rain on one side of a narrow river with a starlit sky on the other, a favoring breeze following immediately on the dying away of an adverse wind — putting all this aside, is it possible to ascertain the real state of the weather during the night of August 29-30, 1777? One fact is scientifically demonstrable. It was the night of the full moon.¹ The two days' storm — an August northeaster — had culminated with thunder, lightning and hail on the 28th. The conditions then apparently prevailed which ordinarily attend the dying out of a late summer storm, and which precede a change to seasonable weather. The day of the 29th was foggy and chill, with a light draft of air from the north and east. The co-operative movement on the part of Admiral Lord Howe was still delayed, inasmuch as ships leaving their anchorage drifted, not having a sufficiency of wind to enable them to stem the tide; at times the mist lifted, and at times thickened. Later the night was still, the water quiet, the atmos-

¹ This point was, at the request of the writer of the present paper, referred for settlement to Professor Pickering of the Harvard University Observatory. Under date of December 5, 1910, Professor Pickering replied:

"The full moon occurred on August 28, 1776, at 19h. 59m. As this is Greenwich astronomical time, the corresponding civil date at Greenwich was 7h. 59m. of the morning of August 29. At Boston the local civil time would have been about 4h. 44m. earlier."

phere luminous; a fog settled on the bay towards morning; every atmospheric condition aided the Patriots, and, at the proper stage of the tide, the boats passed to and fro, favored by a light west breeze, and loaded to the gunwale. Not a single case of swamping or collision was recorded, or is known to have occurred. Not a boat upset; not a life was lost. These facts are under the conditions given conclusive as to the absence of wind, the quietude of the water, and the luminous character of the atmosphere.

I confess myself unable to find in the movement, as a military operation, anything beyond an exceeding measure of pure good luck. That Washington bore himself courageously and with great outward calmness in presence of imminent danger, does not admit of question. On the other hand, divested of all gush, patriotism, hero worship and rhetoric generally, the cold historical truth would seem to be that, aided by a most happy fortuitous concurrence of circumstances and the extreme supineness of his opponents, he on this occasion, keeping his head under trying conditions and taking advantage of all the resources at his command, extricated himself and his army, at a most critical juncture, from an inherently false position into which neither he nor they ever should have either put themselves, or allowed themselves to be put. As respects skill, discipline or careful organization of movement, if they were markedly in evidence the fact nowhere appears in the record. That the British commanders, both military and naval, made the transfer possible, and facilitated it in every conceivable way, is indisputable. They evinced neither enterprise nor alertness. No patrol boats lurked in the fog which overhung the harbor, veiling their whereabouts from the land batteries; the opposing lines were not pried into by inquisitive or adventurous pickets. Even a negro, despatched by a female Tory sympathizer, one Mrs. Rapalye, to warn the British of the withdrawal in progress, fell into the hands of a Hessian picket who, unable to make anything out of what he said to them, retained him till morning; ¹ a striking instance, those of the Weems school would probably claim, of Washington's remarkable sagacity and prescience. On the other hand, that the "speechless and silent" embarkation which nothing availed to disconcert was in fact marked by

¹ Irving, *Washington*, II. 390.

much confusion, is established on the best possible authority — that of Washington himself. (Trevelyan, Pt. II. v. I. 289 *n.*) It is even stated that the lack of discipline was such that men absolutely tried to climb over each other's shoulders the sooner to reach the boats. In the matter of transfer the boats themselves, meanwhile, were handled by perhaps as skillful a lot of men as could anywhere have been found, — Glover's regiment of Marblehead fishermen. Even in that detail of the affair — a very essential detail — Washington's luck — our historians again call it sagacity and prescience — was phenomenal.

But, finally, to those practically experienced in warfare, the glory achieved by successful retreat and the extricating of an army from imminent danger of destruction is always more or less open to question. Neither have these been features of warfare in which the greatest commanders have conspicuously distinguished themselves. Take Napoleon, for instance. His fame is, so far as I am informed, associated with three retreats only: — that from Russia, in 1812; that after the battle of Leipsic, in 1813; and that from Waterloo, in 1815. In each case, however, he left his army behind him. Great as he unquestionably was, every time he personally got away first. It so chances, however, that I myself have in a small way not been without a certain degree of experience and means of observation in the case of operations of this sort. One in particular I recall which has an even historic interest. It was in connection with a withdrawal hardly less critical than that of Washington from Brooklyn; the withdrawal, I mean, of the Army of the Potomac by Burnside after his unsuccessful assault upon Lee's lines at Fredericksburg, in December, 1862. Personally I at the time had some most direct information as to the closing incident of that episode.

When the rear of the army was withdrawn from the Fredericksburg side of the Rappahannock, during the night of December 15, it devolved on Sykes's Division of the Fifth Corps to cover the withdrawal. One brigade of that division was known as the Regular Brigade, being wholly composed of certain regiments of the United States army. This brigade was at that time commanded by a relative of my father, on the mother's side, Colonel Robert C. Buchanan, as he then was,

of the Fourth Infantry.¹ The duty of bringing up the rear, driving in the stragglers, and finally taking up the pontoons was devolved on this brigade, as being composed of material of unquestionably reliable character. A few days later, returning one day with my regiment from picket, I chanced to pass the camp of this brigade, and, consequently, the headquarters of Colonel Buchanan. Obtaining permission to leave the column, I rode over to Colonel Buchanan's tent, and was fortunate enough there to find him. Our relations were of a more than friendly character; and, giving me a warm welcome, he invited me to sit down and partake of camp hospitality. I did so, and we were soon engaged in what was to me a very interesting talk. Naturally, it turned on the ordeal of a few days before. Colonel Buchanan was an old friend and comrade of General Lee. Together at West Point, they had, in subsequent army life, known each other intimately. Each held the other in high respect. In the course of conversation, I said, "But, Colonel, I cannot understand how in the world you managed to get out of that scrape. I am unable to see why it was that the enemy permitted you to get away. You were right under their guns; why did they not destroy you?" The answer was emphatic and immediate. In it there was no recourse to the "providential," no pretence of professional skill, no savor of self-glorification. It was the response of an old soldier. Though listened to hard on fifty years ago, I have never forgotten it. Letting his hand drop on the table between us, Colonel Buchanan emphatically replied: "I can tell you, Charles, how we got off. It was plain enough. We got off simply because Bob Lee did not believe that any one ever could have been damned fool enough to put an army in such a position!"

The explanation thus given was in familiar talk, and may not have been couched in terms of strict deference to those superior in rank. Nevertheless, I have always been disposed to believe that it expressed the real facts of that particular case. General Lee had permitted the withdrawal of the Union army simply because he did not realize and take advantage of all the opportunities then through incompetence offered him.

¹ *Records of the Rebellion*, XXI. 145.

So in August, 1777, at Brooklyn, Sir William Howe and Admiral Lord Howe permitted their opponent to get away.

Again, the historians of the school under consideration never weary of expatiating upon Washington's "Fabian tactics," as they are termed, the profound wisdom thereof, and the unreasonable nature of any restiveness evinced thereat by the Congress. In point of fact, this is, I submit, an entire and altogether mistaken assumption. That it is traditional and accepted is indisputable; but will it bear criticism and analysis? Does not our Revolutionary history in this respect also need to be revised and rewritten? During the first three years of his command, that is, from June 1775 to June 1778 inclusive — or from Bunker Hill to Monmouth and the withdrawal of the British to the New York lines — no strategy or tactics could well have been less Fabian in character than those pursued by Washington. In the autumn of 1776 he most rashly offered battle time after time on both Long Island and Manhattan; he held position after position, like Forts Washington and Lee, not only after they had become untenable but, from any military point of view, after they had ceased to be of value. So also in the following year, he most unnecessarily challenged defeat on the Brandywine, and attacked aggressively at Germantown. Finally, the year following (1778) he was at Monmouth the vigorous assailant of a withdrawing enemy, only anxious to get away. To characterize such a strategy and tactics as Fabian is indicative of complete misconception both of terms and operations; they are the reverse of Fabian.

Take, for instance, the campaign just under consideration — that about New York in 1776. New York, as already pointed out, was not defensible. Yet Washington, trying to defend it, and confident of his ability so to do, adhered to a mistaken policy to the bitter end; and, by so doing, either lost his army or sacrificed its defensive efficiency. All this assuredly was not Fabian. The truly Fabian policy to be pursued at that time and under those conditions was obvious, and in every respect different. Severe and cruel in application, but efficacious, it was the exact policy subsequently adopted by Wellington when, in October, 1810, devastating all the region the defense of which he abandoned, he withdrew before Massena within the famous lines of Torres Vedras. The very policy thus thirty-four years

later ruthlessly enforced in Portugal, was now clearly and forcibly outlined by John Jay for adoption in New York. Writing to Edward Rutledge, of the Board of War, and Gouverneur Morris, chairman of a special committee, he said:

I wish our army well stationed in the Highlands, and all the lower country desolated; we might then bid defiance to all the further efforts of the enemy in that quarter. Had I been vested with absolute power in this State, I have often said, and still think, that I would last spring have desolated all Long Island, Staten Island, the city and county of New York, and all that part of the county of Westchester which lies below the mountains. I would then have stationed the main body of the army in the mountains on the east, and eight or ten thousand men in the Highlands on the west side of the river. I would have directed the river at Fort Montgomery, which is nearly at the southern extremity of the mountains, to be so shallowed as to afford only depth sufficient for an Albany sloop, and all the southern passes and defiles in the mountains to be strongly fortified. . . . According to this plan of defense the State would be absolutely impregnable against all the world, on the seaside, and would have nothing to fear except from the way of the lake. Should the enemy gain the river, even below the mountains, I think I foresee that a retreat would become necessary, and I can't forbear wishing that a desire of saving a few acres may not lead us into difficulties.¹

A policy such as this was not only Fabian but Wellingtonian. The policy actually pursued was neither. As Charles Lee at this time impatiently as well as despairingly wrote: "For my part, I would have nothing to do with the islands to which you have been clinging so pertinaciously. I would give Mr. Howe a fee-simple of them."²

"Mr. Howe's" successor in command, Sir Henry Clinton, subsequently held those islands in strategic "fee simple" from after Monmouth (June, 1778) until, three years later, Washington broke camp at Tarrytown (August, 1781) to march his now solidified army to Yorktown. During these three years his tactics had been "Fabian"; exactly those outlined and counselled by Jay in 1776, and which at that time Washington did not adopt.

For Mr. WINTHROP extracts were read of a letter dated August 20, 1775, from General Washington to Lund Wash-

¹ Irving, *Washington*, II. 433.

² *Ib.* II. 443.

ington, reflecting severely upon the conduct of certain officers in the battle of Bunker Hill.¹

Mr. STIMSON, commenting upon the increasing forgetfulness of the story of Sir Harry Frankland, said:

I am interested in the matter because Lady Frankland's only nephew and heir, one Isaac Surriage, married Sarah Stimson, my great-grandaunt, and when Lady Frankland went through Washington's lines at the time of the siege of Boston to sail for England, not to return, the house and place passed into the possession of Surriage and later of George Stimson. His eldest son, the first Dr. Jeremy Stimson, kept the homestead, but the six younger brothers with their father moved to settle the towns of Wyndham and Ashland in the Catskill country of New York. Drake, in his history of Middlesex County, records that only Jeremy Stimson and Isaac Surriage voted for the Federalist candidate in Hopkinton about the year 1800. The town of Ashland was set out from Hopkinton about fifty years ago, so that the old Frankland estate lies now partly in both towns. Dr. Jeremy Stimson of Dedham (Harvard, 1804) was born in the house, and having lived to be eighty-six years old, related many of the tales about it to the writer. A good deal of the story is to be found in Mrs. Stowe's novel *Oldtown Folks*, but she mistakes the house for the so-called Dench house. The true house was destroyed by fire.

Sarah Surriage died young of the smallpox, and had a lonely marble monument in the forest; but there are two private cemeteries, one in Hopkinton and one in Ashland, with the tombs and monuments of the other members of the family. Bronze plates have recently been supplied and dedicated by the town to the memory of those of them who were colonels or soldiers in the war of the Revolution and the Colonial wars. After the Stimson family had all left Hopkinton, the estate passed through many hands. First, I think, to the Rev. Elias Nason, who wrote the history of Hopkinton, and from whom some of my facts are derived; then to the Mellen family; and the modern tenement now on the site of the old mansion on the top of Magunco Hill is now occupied by Armenians.

¹ This letter is printed in Ford, *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb*, I. 92. The original is in the Emmet MSS. in the New York Public Library.

My great-grandfather, the first Dr. Jeremy Stimson, wrote a historical and geographical account of Hopkinton which was published in the fourth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,¹ and I have in my possession a diary kept by Dr. Stimson while a surgeon in the army under Washington, in the campaign about New York.

One wishes that one could add that Lady Frankland was married to Sir Harry before the earthquake in Lisbon, but such is not the tradition of the family here.²

Mr. FORD submitted the following note:

In Morton's account of his being shipped to England (*New English Canaan*, Prince Society, 336, 342) he speaks of a "Mr. Weathercock, a proper Mariner," who came unexpectedly in the depth of winter, when all ships were gone out of the land. "Hee would doe any office for the brethren, if they (who hee knew had a strong purse, and his conscience waited on the strings of it, if all the zeale hee had) would beare him out in it; which they professed they would. Hee undertakes to ridd them of mine Host [Morton] by one meanes or another." As a consequence Morton was shipped with Mr. Weathercock.

It is known that an effort had been made in September to induce Captain Brook of the *Gift* to take him to England, "but he professed he was not *gifted* that way, nor his ship neither, for such a purpose, as not willing to trouble himself nor his country with such vagabonds, from which they had been happily freed for some years before."³ Dudley says that Morton was sent out in the *Handmaid*, in December, 1630. The *Handmaid* reached Plymouth October 29, after having been twelve weeks at sea, and spent all her masts. On November 11 she went to Boston, "with Captain Standish and two gentlemen passengers, who came to plant here, but having no testimony, we would not receive them." Such is Winthrop's entry, and from him we learn the master's name, John Grant. This was the "Mr. Weathercock" of the *New English Canaan*.

¹ 1 Collections, IV. 15.

² A fuller account is to be found in a communication by Mr. Stimson to the *New York Times*, December 3, 1910.

³ Hubbard, *History*, 137.

Morton states the captain was given letters of credence to those in England for his taking so undesirable a passenger, and makes much caustic sport of the captain because of the short provisioning of the ship for the home voyage. The vessel was a wretched one even for that day. In the voyage to America twelve weeks had been consumed, and more than one third of the twenty-eight heifers had perished. The return voyage, made in winter, was even longer, though it is difficult to believe what Morton says, that "nine moneths they made a shifte to use her." He describes how they "sailed from place to place, from Iland to Iland, in a pittiful wether beaten ship, where mine Host was in more dainger, (without all question,) then Ionas, when hee was in the Whales belly; and it was the great mercy of God that they had not all perished." And again he says: "the vessell was a very slugg, and so unserviceable that the Master called a counsell of all the company in generall, to have theire opinions which way to goe and how to beare the helme, who all under their hand affirmed the shipp to be unserviceable: so that, in fine, the Master and men and all were at their wits end about it." As it was they were obliged to keep the carpenters at searching for leaks and caulking her sides. At last the ship reached Plymouth Road, and Morton, having escaped, as he thought, from even greater dangers than mere hunger or shipwreck, proceeded to instruct Mr. Weathercock upon his intentions against the Plymouth plantation. He told Grant to say to the Separatists, "that they would be made in due time to repent those malicious practises, and so would hee [Grant] too; for he was a Seperatist amongst the Seperatists, as farre as his wit would give him leave; though when hee came in Company of basket makers, hee would doe his indevoure to make them pinne the basket, if he could, as I have seene him."

The *Handmaid* had some beaver skins on board, doubtless some consigned by the Plymouth partners to their colleagues in London. Morton is severe on Grant for not having exchanged some of this beaver for provisions.

True to his threat Morton sought revenge upon the captain. "If John Grant had not betaken him to flight, I had taught him to sing clamavi in the Fleet before this time, and if he return before I depart, he will pay dear for his presumption.

For here he finds me a second Perseus; I have uncased Medusa's head, and struck the brethren into astonishment."¹ The "flight" of the captain was proof that he had gained by the letters in his favor, and had advanced in the confidence of the Company. In June, 1632, he entered Massachusetts Bay, from London, in command of the *James*, a vessel capable of making the journey in eight weeks. He brought letters, and also a "waved sword," a present from John Humfrey to the younger Winthrop,² by John Greene, a passenger in the ship. The passage had been severe on the cattle, as Winthrop says she brought sixty-one heifers, and lost forty.³ Again in the same ship, he reached Salem, October 10, 1633, eight weeks out from Gravesend, and apparently on his way to Virginia.⁴ In August, 1635, he sailed in the *Safety* for Virginia.⁵

Mr. FORD made the following statement in connection with an Indian deed completing the Nauset purchase, one of the three tracts reserved by the "purchasers" or old comers at Plymouth, in 1640-41:

Freeman states that in its original bounds Eastham (Nauset) contained a territory of fifteen miles in length by two and one half in breadth, having the Atlantic Ocean on the east, Barnstable Bay and Namskaket (Brewster) on the west, the herring brook of Billingsgate (Truro) on the north, and Monamoyick (Chatham) on the south. The document now printed from the original manuscript in the Society's collection (*Miscellaneous Papers*, I. 1628-1691, f. 43) appears to cover the original grant, and is doubtless the final settlement of the Indian claim, of which Freeman had no evidence. Some of the names of the localities are still to be found on the map, such as Boat Meadow Creek, Great Beach Hill, Lieutenant Island, Billingsgate Island, Bound Brook and Indian Neck; Poche is now Pochet, applying to a Neck and an island of the name, and Keskagonsett is Kaseagogansett, the name of a pond in Orleans. But the document gives some Indian names also, of which no other records seem to have been preserved.

Bee it knowne to all men to whom these presents shall come that wee whose names are vnderwritten doe freely acknowl-

¹ Winthrop, *History*, II. 234.

² 3 *Collections*, IX. 245.

³ *History*, I. 94.

⁴ *Ib.* 137.

⁵ Hotten, *List of Emigrants to America*, 121.

edge that wee haue giuen bargained and sold vnto Mr. William Bradford Mr Thomas Prence and the rest of the purchasers of Nausett these seuerall tracts of lands and are in hand payd by seuerall payments and in seuerall kinds: viz: in Mouseskinne Indian Coates Wampum kettles knives etc. the land sold and giuen to the purchasers of Easham by Mattaquasson,¹ with the consent of Natnaught Namanamocke Jeffery Ammanuitt pompmo with other of the auncient Indians was all Poche and the three Islands next adioyning. As also Poche Island and the great Beachs with the lands on the west side of the Downe: beginning at the little Brooke called by the Indians Mamusqumkaett on the western side of Namscakett and so to Onoscotist called by the English the boate meddow and all the lands from the aforesaid little Brooke within a straight line from a marked tree at the head of Namscakett to the southermost part of the brooke that runes out of the pond to Keskagonsett and so to the bay. Oquomehod² Georges father Namanamocke Jeffery Amanuitt Mr John with the consent of George and the rest of the auncient Indians Natnaught pompmo etc gaue and sold from Onoscotist all the lands from William Meniches as farre as Nausett Sampson sold from Georges land to the Leiftenants land³ at great Billinsgate. Leiftennant Antony hath also sold all the lands from Sampsons bound to a little Brooke called by the Indians

¹ Mattaquason, Sachem of Monomoyet, had a son, John Quason. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, iv. 64. He signs the paper as Sagamore.

² This is undoubtedly the first signer of the submission of the Indians to King James at New Plymouth, September 13, 1621. The name is there spelled Ohquamehud, and Drake says he was a Wampanoag, but gives no authority. He may have been a vassal of Massasoit, but this deed would place him on the cape, and among the Nauset Indians. The submission, which is printed in Morton, *New England's Memorials*, 129, was the only known occurrence of the name before the discovery of this Nauset document. Pratt says that George was "probably the immediate successor of Aspinet," who was sachem of Nauset when young Billington was rescued in 1621. Mourt (Dexter), 112; Pratt, *History of Eastham*, 11.

³ The Lieutenants land is probably that owned by the Indian of that name, who signs this document with a mark. Lieutenant Joseph Rogers, in 1658, with the approbation of Governor Prence, "hath purchased of the Potonumaquatt Indians," namely Pompmo, the right propriator of those lands, as also Francis, the sachem to whom the said Pompmo gaue a portion of meddow land at Potonumaquatt, two small portions of meddow, one called Aquakesett, being about five acres, more or lesse, and another smale parcell at a place called Mattahquesett, being about an acre and an halfe." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, iii. 142. A grant of one hundred acres of upland at Pottamumaquate Neck, and six acres of meadow thereabouts, was made in 1666 to John Done. *Ib.* iv. 131.

Esq. Ram
The ninth of
November 1668

Signed, sealed and
delivered in the
presence of

Sagamore of Maudensett
Matthaeus [his mark]

Samson. [his mark] alias Mafquanawin.

[his mark]
Anthony [his mark]

Isidorus [his mark]
Indian his mark

Alcemer [his mark] of [his mark] quauyon [his mark]

Francis Sagum [his mark]

Alcemer [his mark] of Larente.

Samuel [his mark] alias Nauigro

Alcemer [his mark] of Simen.

Quamind

Lom.

Sapoconist by the English Bound Brooke only reserving a small necke to him selfe called Tuttammist according to there agreement with Mr. Thomas Prence.

Easham the ninth of
Nouember, 1666.

Sagamore of Manemoitt

MATTAQUASON X

SAMPSON X *alias* MASQUANAMINE.¹

ANTONY X

LEIFTENANT X Indian

QUASON X

Signed sealed and de-
liuered in presence of

FRANCIS Sachem X²

LAWRENCE X

JAMES X *alias* WANISCO

SIMON X³

On the reverse of the first page Morton has written: "This writing is Recorded according to order per me Nath: Morton Secretary to the Courte for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth see Great Booke of Euidence of Land enroled, folio 28."

Mr. NORCROSS, from his collection, contributed the following letter of Cotton Mather:

TO BENJAMIN COLMAN.

SIR, — Your *Saurin*,⁴ on whom I could not, until very Lately fall to pillaging, returns with my hearty thanks for the Loan.

When I fell upon the pillage I found a very considerable part of his most valuable Treasures, already Lodged in our BIBLIA AMERICANA.

Some he has afforded me.

But you shall allow me the Vanity to declare, That if you do not find entred on the one Book of *Genesis* alone, in that Amassment more than ten times the rich Entertainments there are in *Saurin* on the whole Pentateuch, I will, yea, I will venture to declare (Suffer

¹ He is mentioned in *Plymouth Colony Records*, XII. 236, 237.

² There was one Francis, sachem of Nausett in 1662, who witnessed the submission of Philip, and fell under the colony's displeasure in 1668, "for his vnciuill and inhumaine words and carriages to Captaine Allin when hee was cast away on Cape Cod." *Ib.* 26, 179; XII. 236. His Indian name is not known.

³ See facsimile of signatures, p. 259.

⁴ Jacques Saurin (1677-1730) was born in France, studied in Geneva, and became in 1701 pastor of the Walloon church in London. He afterwards removed to the Hague, where he preached for twenty-five years. The work referred to is probably his *Discourses, Historical, Theological, and Moral, on the Principal Events of the Old and New Testaments*.

such a Fool!) The Church of God has never yett seen such an Amassment of the finer Illustrations on the sacred Oracles. Thus has a Sovereign and Gracious God favoured the Meanest of Men.

To be pouring in upon the scholars at your Colledge, those Treasures (not once a Month, or a Week, but) with a profusion of more than six hundred Exercises in a year, would be a thing so worthy of your *President*, that if I should Live to see the man, I should with pleasure offer him the stock to subsist upon.

Especially, if it should be the person, whom I wrote a Letter to Judge Davenport once to gett the post assigned unto, and who needs them the Least of any among us.

However qualified you might think me, on the account of these Treasures, (for I know, you can't on any other Account) for to be the man, I do with the greatest Acquiescence and Gratitude, approve the Declaration of your Sentiments to all the Country, that I am on other Accounts utterly Disqualified. Yea, for Erudition too, as well as Capacity and Activity for Management, (tho', whether for the Third Qualification, which with the Two former, you conscientiously go by, that is, Fidelity to the Interests of Religion and the Churches, I should own myself Inferiour to any, I cannot say so well) you have already mett with one superiour to me, and may easily Light on many more.¹

And though I am aware of the Talk about the Country on this occasion, sufficiently to my Disadvantage (whereof I should be more stupid, than even they who have the most diminutive Thoughts of me can imagine me, if I were not sensible!) yett I do with all possible Sincerity thank you for the Inexpressible Ease you have given to, Sir, your obliged Brother and Serv't

CO. MATHER.

Nov. 6, 1724.

Dr. GREEN said that some years ago, on June 3, 1903, Mr. Hunnewell placed in his hands a sealed envelope with the request that it should not be opened during his lifetime. This wish of course was respected, and it was not opened till after his funeral. It contained a printed sketch of his life, of which the number was limited to twenty copies.

Dr. GREEN also spoke of the great mortality that had taken place very recently in the list of Resident Members of this Society: first, Morton Dexter, who died on October 29; then Josiah P. Quincy, on October 31; and lastly James F. Hunne-

¹ Mather's ambition to become president of the College was well known to his contemporaries. On May 3, 1724, the office became vacant by the death of John Leverett. On July 7, 1725, his successor, Benjamin Wadsworth, entered into office.

well, on November 11, three deaths in less than a fortnight. We are tempted to exclaim with the poet:

Insatiate archer! could not one suffice?
Thy shaft flew thrice: and thrice my peace was slain.

There are three other groups of great mortality in the list of membership, and they have all occurred since my connection with the Society during the last half-century, as follows: Luther V. Bell, who died on February 11, 1862, William Appleton, on February 15, and Cornelius C. Felton, on February 26; Caleb Cushing, who died on January 2, 1879, William G. Brooks, on January 6, and Jacob Bigelow on January 10; and Richard H. Dana, who died on January 6, 1882, Delano A. Goddard, on January 11, and Alexander H. Bullock, on January 17.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks:

At the October meeting of this Society I communicated, in behalf of Miss Harriet Elizabeth Freeman, a diary kept by Joseph Emerson, Jr., a naval chaplain in the expedition against Louisburg in 1745. In the remarks then made I said that I had been told there were still other diaries by Mr. Emerson in existence, which statement is partially borne out by the gift of another record to the Library. The present one is given by Mrs. Caroline (Howe), wife of Dr. Joseph Berthelet Heald, of Boston, eldest daughter of the late Dr. James Seth Nason Howe, of Pepperell, and a granddaughter of the Reverend James Howe, who followed Mr. Emerson as minister, though not as his immediate successor. The diary covers a period of time running from August 1, 1748, to April 9, 1749, and gives many interesting details in the daily life of a country minister. It was the wont of Mr. Emerson, when in his journeys he tarried at a place over night, to stay at the house of a brother minister. This was prompted in part by economical and in part by social or personal reasons. It was known by tradition that this diary, and perhaps others, had been in existence, but it was supposed that they had been irretrievably lost. The record here printed was found many years ago by the late Dr. Howe in the garret of the old Emerson house at Pepperell. It was then in a large collection of sermons written by Mr. Emerson, together with other papers. Thus it was rescued, and barely escaped with the skin of its teeth. Even since

that time it disappeared again for some years, though more recently it has come to light; and now by cold type and help of the printer's art it is placed beyond the contingency of a similar accident.

Mr. Emerson's entries in regard to the daughter of the Reverend Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, show that the diarist was a person of strong sensibilities, and that he had his share of the feelings common to human nature. Several entries in the diary bear witness that the young minister was badly smitten with the charms of Miss Esther Edwards, a girl who not long before had reached her *teens*. In several places Mr. Emerson speaks of her as Mrs. Esther Edwards or Mrs. Esther. In early times it was the custom to address ladies of high social position as Mistress or Mrs., without regard to their marital condition. A few years later she married Aaron Burr, a man considerably her senior in age, who was then President of the College of New Jersey, now known as Princeton University. She became the mother of Aaron Burr, third Vice-President of the United States. From all accounts she was a woman of great attractions and many accomplishments, as naturally she might be both by heredity and environment. Her father was the most distinguished metaphysician of his time.

JOSEPH EMERSON'S DIARY, 1748-1749.

August Mun 1 I visited 6 Families Stephen Halls Daniel Rolfe, James Lawrences, Benj'n Martins, James Greens, Thomas Williams.

tues 2 I studied A: M: afternoon I went a fishing.

wen 3 I went to Harvard, preached Mr. Seccombs¹ Lecture from John 4. 42. Brother Emerson with me, we went over to Bolton lodged at Dr. Greenleafs.²

thu 4 we returned home.

frid 5 I read some and studied chief of the Day.

Sat 6 I Studied chief of the Day.

Sab 7 preached all Day from *what is a Man profited, if he gain.*

¹ John Seccombe (H. C., 1728).

² Daniel Greenleaf (H. C., 1699).

mun 8 I visited 8 Families Isaac Williams, Elias Eliot, Eben: Gilson, Daniel Rolfe, Eben: Pierce, Nathan Hall, Will Warner, Widow Saunders. the Wife of Eb: Gilson is runing very *wild*, full of Enthusiasm.

tues 9 I went up to Lunenburg lodged at Mr. *Stearns*.¹

wen 10 I rid over in the morning to *Leominster* in Company with Mr. *Downe*² the schoolmaster of Lunenburg returned to Mr. Stearns to Dinner, and home at Night.

thur 11 I studied chief of the Day.

fri 12 Studied forenoon, went up to Holles³ afternoon preached Brother Emerson Lecture from Isa: 12. 3. returned.

Sat 13 Studied all Day.

Sab 14 preached all Day from Mat: 5. 4. *blessed are they who mourn for they shall be comforted.*

Mun 15 I visited 3 Families Sam'll Fisk, Phinehas Chamberlin Deacon Lawrence. afternoon I went down to Groton and lodged at Mr. Trowbridge.⁴

tues 16 after making a visit and doing some Business I returned to my Lodging before noon. afternoon entertain Company.

wen 17 Studied some. cut stalks for my Landlord part of the Day.

thu 18 Studied all Day.

frid 19 Studied forenoon, afternoon private meeting at my lodging. I read a sermon of my Father's from *wisdom is of all her children*.⁵

Sat 20 Studied all Day.

Sab 21 A: M: preached from *Blessed are they who mourn* &c P: M: from Lam: 3. 44. *thou hast covered thyself with a cloud that our prayer should not pass thro'.*

mun 22 I visited 6 Families James Colburn, and his son, Will'm Blood, Benj. Swallow, Josiah Tucker, Josiah Lawrence, and so finished my pastoral *Visits* for this Year.

¹ David Stearns (H. C., 1728).

² Probably William Downe (H. C., 1738).

³ In the New Hampshire Laws, published as late as 1815, the name of the town is spelt *Holles*. Before the Revolution the word was always written that way.

⁴ Caleb Trowbridge (H. C., 1710).

⁵ *Wisdom is Justified of all her Children*, a Sermon in Boston, August 26, 1742. Boston, 1742.

tues 23 I went over to *Lancaster* lodged at Capt [Abijah] Willards.

wen 24 Returned *Home* at Night.

thurs 25 I studied all Day. I now have finished my 24th *Year* and entered upon my 25th may I do more for God this *Year* than ever I *did*.

frid 26 Studied *forenoon*, afternoon discoursed with two persons who are about to joyn the chh. and one who seems to be under very strong *Convictions*.

Sat 27 Studied very hard all Day.

Sab 28 I preached all Day from *the whole need not the physician but they that are sick*.

mun 29 I visited two sick persons who were prayed for Yesterday and conversed with two persons who are about owning the covenant.

tues 30 I went up to *Holles*. heard of the sorrowful News of two of my parish quarreling last Night, one wounding the other with a knife as some are ready to fear dangerous.

wen 31 I studied some at Brother Emerson's and returned went down to look of my workmen who are now building my Chimney.

September thurs 1 I studied chief of the Day conversed with a Person about his Soul. Visited a sick *woman*.

frid 2 Studied forenoon, Lecture afternoon Mr. Secomb preached on *Pauls* conversion. I was obliged to put by the *Sacrament*, for we could not obtain *wine*.

Sat 3 I went out in order to settle some affair of my own, and visited a man who has received a wound in a quarrel with his Neighbor.

Sab 4 I preached all Day from *my Sheep hear my voice and I know 'em and they follow me*.

mun 5 Stopt from seting out in my Journey by the Rain, which was merciful & most plentiful we have had for a year past.

tues 6 Sat out for *Connecticut* in company with Peter Powers of Holles in order to go to Newhaven Commencement we stoped at Mr. Trowbridges a little while and then rid over to Lancaster Stopped at Capt. [Abijah] Willards and took a mouthful and arrived at Mr. *Curtis's* at Worcester a little after Nine at Night we mist our way and about half a mile but comfortably found it again.

wen 7 I tarried all the forenoon at Mr. Curtis's and dined afternoon went over to Mr. Goodwin about two mile. *Peter Powers* went over to Shrewsbuary to see some *Friends*; I lodged at Mr Goodwins. much refreshed with the sight of Worcester Friends.

thu 8 I called to see Mr. Upham who keeps the School here, made two or three Visits in Town lodged at Mr. Browns my former Landlord when I preached in Town.

frid 9 We sat out for Connecticut in the morning stopt at Esq. Mores [Elijah Moore] at Oxford, we dined at *Convas's* the Tavern at Killinly [Conn.], and lodged at Mr. *Howes*¹ minister of the middle Parish. rode this Day 30 miles.

Sat 10 Sat out on our Journey dined Mr. Hutchins² in the same Town who formerly belonged to Groton where we were kindly entertained. We arrived at Mr. Rowlands³ the Minister of Plainfield.

Sab 11 I preached all Day from John 4. 42. There is here a separate Society who have a Layman ordained over 'em one Thomas Stevens there is near 50 Families of 'em.

mun 12 We sat out for Newhaven Mr. Rowland in company. Stopt at Norwich which is a very pretty Town dined at Cap. [Robert] Denison's an Uncle of Mr. Rowland, got to Connecticut River just after sunset, past over at Brackaway's [Brockway's] ferry between there and Sebrook we mist our way and wander an hour or two in the woods, at last found our way to Mrs. Lays the Tavern in Sebrook by 11 o'clock where we put up. rid 50 miles.

tues 13 Sat out on our Journey, baited at Killingworth again at Gifford, and dined at Mr. Robins⁴ at Branford got over New haven ferry before sunset which is about 2 miles from the Colledge. We put up and got lodgings before Day Light in Spent the Evening at College.

wen 14 Commencement, all Things were carried on with the utmost decency, they came very little behind Cambridge its self.

thurs 15 Breakfasted at College and sat out for home in company with Mr. Eells⁵ of Middletown and arrived at his House in the Evening, about 34 miles.

¹ Perley Howe (H. C., 1731).

² Probably a member of John Hutchins's family, who had removed from Groton forty years previously.

³ David Sherman Rowland (Y. C., 1743).

⁴ Philemon Robbins (H. C., 1729).

⁵ Edward Eells (H. C., 1733).

frid 16 tarried in Town all Day went to another part of it and returned to Mr. Eells. This is a large Town situated at Connecticut River, very populous.

Sat 17 We sat on our Journey in Weathersfield. We met with Mr. Edwards of Northampton and concluded to go home with him the beginning of next week, by the leave of Providence. we stopt and dined at Harford and called at Mr. Edwards¹ at Winsor father to Mr. Edwards of Northampton where we were over persuaded to tarry over the Sabbath.

Sab 18 Mr. Edwards of Northampton preached A: M: from 1 Tim: 6. 19. I preached P: M: from Can: 2. 16. very curteously treated here.

mun 19 We sat out on our Journey and dined at Dr. [Charles] Pinchons at Long Meadows in part of Springfield and lodged at Mr. [Samuel] Hopkins² minister of a Parish in Springfield on the west side of the River he is Brother to Mr. Edwards of North hampton, about 20 miles.

tues 20 the forenoon being lowry we tarried at Mr. Hopkins till after Dinner and then proceeded on our Journey arrived at North hampton before Night.

wen 21 Spent the Day very pleasant the most agreable Family I was ever acquainted with much of the Presence of God here, we meet with Mr. Spencer³ a gentleman who was ordained last week at Boston as a Missionary to the Indians of the 6 Nations he purposes to set out to morrow for Albany. the most wonderful instance of self denial I ever met with.

thurs 22 We sat out for home Mr. Edwards was so kind as to accompany us over Connecticut River and bring us on our way we took our leave of him, he is certainly a great man. We dined at Cold-Spring [Belchertown] and got to Brookfield in the Evening lodged at Dr. [Jabez] Uphams who came from Malden where we were very courteously entertained.

frid 23 We were early on our Journey. Breakfasted at Mr. Eatons⁴ the minister of the uper Parish of Leicester. made several visits in Leicester, dined at Mr. Spragues who has lately moved from Malden. went down to Worcester and made two or three visits lodged at Mr. Goodwins.

¹ Timothy Edwards (H. C., 1691).

² Samuel Hopkins (Y. C., 1718) married Esther, sister of Mr. Edwards.

³ Elihu Spencer (Y. C., 1746), ordained at Boston on September 4.

⁴ Joshua Eaton (H. C., 1735).

Sat 24 Sat out on our Journey. dined at Col: [Samuel] Willards at Lancaster got home to Groton a little after sunset. I have had a very pleasant Journey, have not met with any Difficulty in travelling above 300 miles. Gods Name be praised.

Sab 25 I preached all Day from Rom: 8. 1. went up to Holles in the Evening found my sister¹ comfortably a Bed with a Daughter, my Mother from Malden has been up here about a fort Night.

mun 26 I waited upon my Mother over to my Lodging.

tues 27 returned back to Holles with Mother where I tarried two or three Days much out of Order with a Cold.

frid 30 I came home and attended the private Meeting at Ebenezer Gilsons. I read some out of Mr. Edwards Concert of Prayer.²

October Sat 1 I wrote two Letters in the forenoon one to Mr. Edwards, of Northampton the other to his second Daughter a very desireable Person, to whom I purpose by divine leave to make my addresses, may the Lord direct me in so important an affair; afternoon I went up to Holles my sister still comfortable beyond our Fears.

Sab 2 I changed with Brother Emerson and preached at Holles all Day from, *what is a Man profited if he gain the whole world, &c.*

mun 3 I sat out with my Mother for Malden dined at Col Tings and got as far as Reading lodged at Capt. Eatons.

tues 4 We arrived at Malden found my Fathers family well.

wen 5 I went to Boston did some Business and returned to Malden.

thu 6 made a visit or two in the forenoon afternoon I sat out for home went as far as Reading.

frid 7 the weather so bad I could not proceed with comfort on my Journey, made several visits in Reading.

Sat 8 returned to Groton.

Sab 9 I preached all Day from 2 Pet: 3. 14.

mun 10 I visited 3 Families out of the Bounds of the parish made pastoral visits Isaac Lakins, Sam'll Harwell, Benjamin Barkers.

tues 11 had company all the forenoon, afternoon went down to Groton.

wen 12 Studied all Day.

¹ Hannah, wife of Daniel Emerson.

² *An Humble Attempt*, etc. Boston, 1747.

thurs 13 Studied the forenoon, afternoon went down to Mr. Trowbridges Lecture Mr. Hall¹ of Wesford preached from *except ye eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of the son of Man ye have no life in you.*

frid 14 returned home, afternoon conversed with and wrote the Relations of two Persons who are about to joyn to the chh.²

Sat 15 Studied all Day.

Sab 16 expounded the 4 first Verses of the 37 Psalm dwelt on 'em all Day.

mun 17 I went out a visiting made a pastoral visit to John Woods Family. Stopt by the Rain tarried all Night at Benj: Parkers.

tues 18 I went up to Holles was sent for to visit two persons at Dunstable³ Massachusetts Mr. Pike and Wife both sick of Fever. I went & lodged at Mr. John Kendals.

wen 19 I returned to Holles spent the forenoon in religious Exercises with the family. this Day was kept as a Day of Thanksgivings by my Brother's family upon the wonderful comfortable circumstances of my sister this time of her Lying in afternoon publick Lecture Mr. Prince the blind man preached from *Mighty to save*, a very profitable Sermon. I returned home in the Evening.

thurs 20 Studied all Day in the Evening rid up to Mr. Boyntons in *Holles* and heard Mr. Prince again, from Gen: 41. 55. I grow in my esteem of him, as a profitable preacher.

frid 21 Our Lecture before the Sacrament Mr. *Prince* preached for me, from Luk: 19. 1-10.

Sat 22 I had company in the forenoon Mr Shed and Wife from Billerica, went up to Mr. Swallows and dined with 'em.

Sab 23 I preached A:M: from Col: 3. 3. P:M: Mat. 5. 4. Mr. Kendal a Brother of our chh. came to Meating in the forenoon,

¹ Willard Hall (H. C., 1722).

² In early times, persons, on joining the Church, made a confession of faith, and gave a "Relation of the manner of Gods working with there soules." 2 *Proc.*, XII. 328.

³ By the running of the new Provincial line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1741 the town of Dunstable was cut in twain, leaving by far the larger part of the township in New Hampshire, including the meeting-house and burying-ground; and thus the two settlements remained for nearly a century, each town bearing the same name. The similarity of designation was the source of considerable confusion, which lasted till the New Hampshire town, on January 1, 1837, took the name of Nashua after the river from which its prosperity largely is derived.

and stopt when I. was about to administer the Ordinance of the Supper, and began to make some Objection against our way of work and in particular against one of the Brethren of this chh. I was obliged to stop him and desire him to withdraw which he did without making so much disturbance as I expected, he is deeply tinged with enthusiasm. he has not attended with us for some *months*.

mun 24 I had company chief of the forenoon Mr. Bliss called to see me. Afternoon attended the funeral of the Widow *Shipley*, being sent for by Reason of Mr. *Trowbridges* being out of Town.

tues 25 I studied chief of the Day.

wen 26 forenoon did some Business in the *parish*. afternoon went to the other end of the Town & preached a sermon at Daniel Sartells from *in the Time of Adversity consider*. his Wife has been so low that she has not been able to attend publick Worship at the meeting house for 5 years.

thurs 27 Studied part of the Day. conversed with two Persons one about to joyn in full *communion*, the other under promising *Convictions*.

frid 28 Studied some in the *morning*, and had determined to spend the rest of the Day in Fasting and *Prayer* but was interrupted by my Brother *Edwards* coming in from Boston about 1 o'clock. Spent the Remainder of the Day with him, rid out to several *Houses*.

Sat 29 Studied all Day.

Sab 30 I preached A: M: from Psa: 37. 5. P: M: from *what is a Man profited &c*.

mun 31 I sat out with Brother Edward for Malden and got safe there in the Evening.

November tues 1 I went to Boston did some Business & returned to Malden.

wen 2 Sat out for home, being not well I reached as far [as] Mr. Benj'n Parkers of Groton.

thurs 3 returned to my Lodgings did some Business in the *parish*.

frid 4 Studied some conversed with 2 Persons who are about joyn-ing the chh. and went out in the Evening.

Sat 5 Studied chief of the Day.

Sab 6 very much out of Order with a cold yet preached all Day from Psalm 37. 5. much better in the Evening.

mun 7 Sat out some time before Day on a Journey to Northampton to visit Mrs. Esther Edwards, to treat of Marriage. got to Worcester comfortably tho' something stormy. lodged at Mr. Goodwins.

tues 8 had a pleasant Day to ride in. got to Cold-Spring in the Evening. lodged at Mr. Billing's¹ the Minister where I was very courteously entertained.

wen 9 I got safe to Northampton, obtained Liberty of the House. in the Evening heard Mr. Searle preach at an House in the Neighbourhood from by Grace are you saved.

thurs 10 I spent chief of the Day with Mrs. Esther, in whose company the more I am the greater value I have for her.

frid 11 the young Lady being obliged to be from Home I spent the Day in copying off some things remarkable Mr. Edwards hath lately received from Scotland. Spent the Evening with Mrs. Esther.

Sat 12 Spent part of the Day upon the Business I came about.

Sab 13 A:M: Mr. Eaton² of Leicester being here on a visit preached from *in the Day of adversity consider*. P:M: I preached from *behold the Lamb of God*.

mun 14 I could not obtain from the young Lady the least Encouragement to come again, the chief objection she makes is her youth, which I hope will be removed in Time. I hope the Disappointment will be sanctified to me, and that the Lord will by his Providence order it so that this shall be my companion for Life. I think I have followed *Providence*, not gone before it. I sat out with Mr. Eaton for home. we lodged at Coll: Dwights at Brookfield.

tues 15 I came as far as Worcester. lodged at Mr. Stearns.

wen 16 I came to Lancaster, this Day the Rev'd Mr. Harrington³ was installed to the pastoral Office here Mr. Storer⁴ of Watertown began with Prayer Mr. Hancock⁵ of Lexington preached from 1 Cor: 9: 19. after supper I went to Harvard home with Mr. Seccomb.

¹ Edward Billings (H. C., 1731).

² Joshua Eaton (H. C., 1735).

³ Timothy Harrington (H. C., 1737).

⁴ Seth Storer (H. C., 1720).

⁵ John Hancock (H. C., 1689).

thurs 17 I came home to my Lodging, dined at Capt. [Benjamin] Bancrofts at Groton. I was considerable melancholly under my Disappointment at Northampton concluded notwithstanding by the Leave of Providence to make another trial in the Spring.

frid 18 I read some forenoon P:M: went to the private meeting at Mr. Wrights read a sermon of Mr. *Elvins* of the Obedience of Faith.

Sat 19 So discomposed I could not study, I could not have tho't what I have lately met with would have had this Effect, the Lord hath put me in a very good *school*. I hope I shall profit in it.

Sab 20 much more composed I endeavored to roll off my Burden upon the Lord and he sustained me. I preached all Day from *they who are whole need not a Physician but they who are sick*.

mun 21 Studied chief of the Day.

tues 22 Studied forenoon, afternoon I went to see some workmen I have about my House.

wen 23 I studied very hard all Day was much assisted.

thurs 24 Public Thanksgiving. I preached from *Praise ye the Lord*, went up to Holles to supper; returned in the evening to marry a couple.¹

frid 25 rid out with Brother Emerson in Town about Business.

Sat 26 read some forenoon, afternoon wrote a Relation for Mercy Williams. rid up to Holles to change with B: Emerson.

Sab 27 I preached at Holles all Day from *he is the Rock* &c.

mun 28 I made one pastoral visit to Silas Blood on the other side of the River, made several other visits.

tues 29 I studied forenoon, afternoon preached a sermon at John Woods from *he is the Rock*.

wen 30 Studied hard all Day in the evening did some other writing.

December thurs 1 Studied hard all Day. went in the Evening to Mr. Isaac Farnsworths and wrote the greater part of a Relation for his Wife.

¹ Without doubt the couple was Samuel Foster, of Boxford, and Jane Boynton, as they were married at Pepperell on this day.

frid 2 Studied forenoon. afternoon our Lecture I preached from *prepare [therefore] with Joy shall ye draw water out of the Wells of Salvation.*

Sat 3 I went in the morning to visit a child of Mr. Wrights who is sick of the Throat Distemper. She died afternoon.

Sab 4 A:M: Sacrament, I preached from 2 Cor: 8: 9. P:M: from *blessed are they who mourn &c.*

mun 5 I write two Letters to Northampton one to dear Mrs. Esther Edwards who I find ingrosseth two many of my Tho'ts yet some glimmering of Hope supporteth my spirits. in the Evening I went down to Capt. [John] Bulkley's, lodged there.

tues 6 Sat out with a Number of Groton people for Concord. I lodged at Capt. Hubbards a relation of mine where I was courteously entertained. I heard of the Death of Mr. Owen¹ of Boston, which affected me much, the best Friend I had in Boston. I pray God to sanctify to me.

wen 7 I went to the other parish, attended the Ordination of Mr. Lawrence.² Mr. Appleton³ of Cambridge began with prayer, Mr. Trowbridge preached from 1 Tim: 3. 15. Mr. Hancock of Lexington gave the charge, Mr. Rogers⁴ of Littleton prayed after the charge. Mr. Williams⁵ of Weston gave the right Hand. after supper I rode down to my Fathers. My Mother hath been ill with the Slow Fever, but something better.

thurs 8 I went to Boston attended the publick Lecture Mr. [Samuel] Checkley preached from Luk: 14. 27. dined with Mr. Bromfield, returned to Malden.

frid 9 Sat out for Home, dined at Woburn with Mr. Cotton, lodged at Mr. Chandlers⁶ who hath lately bro't home his Wife who appears to be an agreeable *Woman.*

Sat 10 came to Dunstable in [New] Hamshire in order to preach there tomorrow Mr. Prince is to supply my Pulpit took lodging at Col: Blanchards.

Sab 11 I preached all Day from *what is a man profited if he gain the whole world &c.*

¹ William Owen, a tailor.

² William Lawrence (H. C., 1743) at this date ordained at Lincoln.

³ Nathaniel Appleton (H. C., 1712).

⁴ Daniel Rogers (H. C., 1725).

⁵ William Williams (H. C., 1705).

⁶ John Chandler (H. C., 1743) of Billerica, m. November 3, 1748, Mary White, of Haverhill.

mun 12 breakfasted at Major Lovewells and after Dinner at the Col: returned to my Lodgings.

tues 13 read all the forenoon afternoon attended the funeral of a child of Moses Woods who was still born. Evening went up to Holles heard part of a Sermon at Mr. Townshends from Mr. Prince lodged at Brother Emersons.

wen 14 Spent the forenoon in reading part of Col: Gardiners Life. after Dinner returned home.

thu 15 read some. conversed with two persons who are about owning the covenant. Studied some Evening.

frid 16 Studied all Day. Evening went out about Business.

Sat 17 Studied chief of the Day.

Sab 18 I preached all Day from *the whole need not a Physician but they that are sick.*

mun 19 I went out made two pastoral visits on the other side of the River, viz to Nathan Fisk, and James Blood. Studied some in the Evening.

tues 20 read some in the forenoon, afternoon went up to Holles and pilotted Mr. Prince down who purposes to tarry a Day or two with us. I studied in the Evening.

wen 21 I read chief of the Day to Mr. Prince and he preached a Sermon at my Lodgings in the Evening from *behold I stand at the Door and knock.*

thurs 22 read something forenoon afternoon went to James Parker [Jr.]¹ and married him at his own House to Rebekah Bulkley. A decent pretty wedding.

frid 23 I was this Day so pressed down under the weight of some peculiar Burdens both of a temporal and spiritual Nature that I could not fix my mind to do any thing at all in the forenoon. afternoon attended the private meeting at Mr. Sam'll Fisks. read a sermon out of Dr. Watts.

Sat 24 Melancholly all Day, it seems to be growing upon me. I read a little but chief of the day sat meditating on my Troubles. Evening my Burden was somewhat lightned. O that I could be thankful for it almost unfit me for the service of God or Man.

¹ Son of James and Abigail (Prescott) Parker. See Green, *Groton Epitaphs*, p. 17.

Sab 25 preached all Day from *the whole need not a Physician but they that are sick.*

mun 26 Went out to divert my self, and visited several of the Neighbours.

tues 27 read some, attended some upon Company, and studied some the whole of the Evening.

wen 28 Studied part of the Day began to read Ames Medulla ¹ went in the Evening to wait upon the parish committee at James Lawrence about Business. after Nigh [] o'clock I was sent for to see the Wife of Benj'n Rolfe who has been exercised with Fits, and is in very great Distress of soul, her convictions appear strong, may they Issue well.

thurs 29 read forenoon studied afternoon & Evening.

frid 30 read some & studied some.

31 read some & studied some. the year is now concluded and I may well finish my Journal as Ames does his Almanack Another year now is gone, but ah! how little have we done. alas! how little have I done for God, for my own soul, for the souls of my people committed I find a great deal Amiss, I would fly to the grace of Christ to pardon my Defects and to his strength to enable me to do more for him this year if he should please to spare my Life.

A Journal for the year 1749

January Sab 1 I preached all Day from *commit thy way to the Lord trust also in him* etc. extreem cold Day very few People at Meeting.

mun 2 I went out about Business in the parish.

tues 3 did some *odd chores* in the Day. Studied Evening.

wen 4 I went up to Moses Woods and preached a sermon in his House from *turn thou me and I shall be turned.* a larger Assembly than I expected.

thurs 5 Dr. Brewster and Brother Emerson came to see me, I waited on 'em chief of the Day. Studied evening.

frid 6 Went up to Holles after studying some in the morning and preached Brother Emerson Lecture from *Fear not little Flock,* &c returned Home.

¹ William Ames's *Medulla Theologica*.

Sat 7 Studied all Day, being hindered so much this week I could not get prepared for the Sabbath till in the Evening.

Sab 8 I preached all Day from the *whole need not a Physician*, and extreem cold Day, much colder than the last Sabbath.

mun 9 I went up to the other End of the parish visited Eleazer Greens wife¹ who is sick, and went down to Dunstable. lodged at Eben: Kendals.

tues 10 Went to see a man in the Neighbourhood who was apprehended to be adying and he did die within an hour or two after I left the House. I returned Home.

wen 11 forenoon I studied some, afternoon went to the parish Meeting. Evening waited upon Company.

thurs 12 Studied all Day. Evening reckoned with some who have worked for me.

frid 13 Studied forenoon, afternoon attended the Meeting at Jonas Varnum instead of the Lecture for I put by the Sacrament upon the Account of the difficulty of the Season. Spent the Evening at James Parkers.

Sat 14 Studied all Day.

Sab 15 I expounded all Day 2 Tim: 3. 1-12.

mun 16 read chief of the Day.

tues 17 read forenoon. afternoon & Evening spent with the Committee who came to settle the Salary for this coming year.

18 Went up to Holles spent the Day returned Evening.

thurs 19 Studied forenoon. afternoon attended the funeral of child at Sam'll Rolfe tother side the River, the child was not a fortnight old born of a woman whom Ezra Rolfe brot here and calls his wife tho' he has another at Lancaster. I spent Evening at Deacon [William] Cumings with Brother Emerson & Mr. Prince.

frid 20 Studied all Day.

Sat 21 Studied all Day.

Sab 22 preached all Day from Mal: 3. 16.

mun 23 Studied some afternoon, entertained company. Mr. Prince came to tarry a Day or two with us.

tues 24 Studied chief of the Day.

¹ Anna (Tarbell) Green.

wen 25 Studied forenoon, afternoon went up to Holles.

thurs 26 Studied all Day. Evening Mr. Prince preached at my lodging from *to 'em who believe he is precious*.

frid 27 I went to Dunstable Brattles End.¹ preached to a family Meeting at Mr. Eben: Kendals from Mal: 3. 16. and in the Evening at Mr. John Kendals from *turn thou me and I shall be turned*.

Sat 28 returned Home very much out of order.

Sab 29 preached all Day from *yea all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer Persecution*. much indisposed all Day.

mun 30 my Illness seems to increase upon me.

tues 31 Something better thro' Mercy was able to do a little writing. heard of the Death James Parker [Jr.] whom I married about a month ago. he died at his mothers at Town [Groton].

February wen 1 Something better wrote two Letters to Northampton.

tues 2 I went down to Groton attended the Lecture Mr. Trowbridge preached from Mark 13. 35. I went to Unkety² lodged at John Woods.

frid 3 attend the private Meeting at John Scots. read a sermon out of Dr. Watts.

Sat 4 I studied some.

Sab 5 I preached all Day from *O that they were wise*.

mun 6 read some in forenoon, afternoon walked up to Holles in order to joyn with Brother Emerson tomorrow in the Concert of Prayer.

tues 7 We spent the forenoon in religious Exercises in private except one or two Neighbours with us, afternoon a publick Lecture. Brother Emerson preached from Esther 4. 14.

wen 8 In the afternoon I sat out to return home went part of the way, and was beat out by a storm of snow, made a visit to the Widow Cummings³ who hath for some Time been under peculiar Temptations. returned to Brother Emersons.

¹ Brattle's End was the name of the settlement in the neighborhood of Capt. Thomas Brattle's farm, now known as Dunstable, Massachusetts.

² "Unkety" was the neighborhood of Unquetenasset or "Unkety" Brook in Groton.

³ Hannah (Farwell) Cumings, widow of Ensign Jerahmael Cumings, and mother of the Rev. Henry Cumings (H. C., 1760).

thurs 9 Studied chief of the Day.

frid 10 Studied some in the Morning and returned Home to my lodging.

Sat 11 Studied all Day.

Sab 12 I preached all Day from *yea, all who will live godly in Christ shall suffer Persecution.*

mun 13 read all Day. Brother Emerson and Mr. Ward our school-master who keeps in the parish, spent the chief of the evening with me, and then I went up to *Holles* with Brother.

tues 14 went early in the morning to Capt. Powers and did some Business made two three visits and returned to my Lodging. I conversed at Brother Emersons with Mrs. [Anna (Farwell)] Brown wife to Josiah Brown who is under very grievous Temptations and spiritual Dificulties. the Lord relieve her.

wen 15 read some and studied some.

thurs 16 Studied forenoon, afternoon made a visit to the Widow Parker,¹ who is a young Widow indeed but a little above 18 years of Age.

frid 17 Studied all Day.

Sat 18 Went up to Townshend in order to change with Mr. Hemenway.²

Sab 19 I preached at Townshend all Day from Mal: 3. 16.

mun 20 I made several visits and returned home at Night.

tues 21 I read all the forenoon, afternoon wrote a letter to Northampton to send by Mr. Isaac Parker who designs to set out for there to morrow. Spent the evening with the committee who came up from Town to lay out the common about our Meeting.

wen 22 Studied some, spent the evening with company.

thurs 23 Studied chief of the Day, went in the Evening to visit Cap: Parker and Mehitabel Flanders, who seem to be abandoned to all wickedness. the Capt hath a Wife and yet even before her he will lay upon the Bed with this *Flanders* who is one of the most impudent sinners I ever heard of. I could not see the Cap. but talk with her discharged my own conscience but I fear did her but little good.

¹ Her maiden name was Rebekah Bulkley, and she was married to James Parker, Jr., on December 22. See diary of that date.

² Phineas Hemenway (H. C., 1730).

frid 24 Studied forenoon Afternoon the preparitive Lecture I preached from these words *my Beloved*.

Sat 25 This Day being the Annoversary of my Ordination I devoted to Fasting and Prayer. I was obliged to study some being not prepared for tomorrow. I endeavored to lay low before God for my many sins and the many aggregations of 'em, especially for the short comings of the year past, and awful breach of vows and Promises. I solemnly renewed my covenant made Resolutions and Promises. I hope in the strength of Christ that I would live better that I would watch more against sin, and especially against the sin, which doth most easily beset me and pleaded for strength to perform all Duties of my general and Particular calling. O Lord hear my Prayers accept my Humiliations give me strength to keep my *vows*, for Jesus sake Amen, and Amen.

Sab 26 Sacrament, I preached all Day from 2 Cor: 8. 9.

mun 27 I sat out for Malden, got to my Fathers safe in the Evening. Went via Concord.

tues 28 Spent the Day in visiting a Neighbour or two. The winter in a great measure broke up.

March wen 1 accompanied my Uncle Moody a few Miles who hath been visiting his Friends here for some time. He is something better than he hath been.

thurs 2 I went down to Boston, Mr. Foxcroft preached the publick Lecture from Job: 1. 5. I agreed to preach for Mr. Roby¹ at Lyn precinct [Saugus] next Lords Day who supplys my place. Mr. Cheever is to go up. I lodged at Charlestown, Mr. Hopkins.

frid 3 returned to Malden and preached my Fathers Lecture from Mal: 3. 16.

Sat 4 I went to Lynn, took my lodging at Mr. Jonathan Waits.

Sab 5 preached A:M: from *there is no Peace saith my God to the wicked*. P:M: from Mal: 3. 16. and in the Evening I preached a sermon at Mr. Waits *from the whole need not a Physician but they who are sick*.

mun 6 I returned to Malden made a visit or two by the way.

tues 7 I went to Cambridge and visited a poor woman in jail who is condemned to die for Burglary.² She appears one of the most

¹ Joseph Roby (H. C., 1742).

² "Saturday last at Charlestown a Woman, who has been a notorious offender, received Sentence of Death for Burglary." *The Boston Gazette*, February 7, 1749.

hardened Creatures I ever saw. afternoon I went to Boston and returned to Malden.

wen 8 A:M: made a visit to Mr. Cleaveland. P:M: my Father preached a sermon to the children at his own House from *acquaint now thy self with God and be at Peace.*

thurs 9 I sat out for Home, dined at Concord, spent the afternoon at Mr. [James] Minots lodged at Mr. [Daniel] Blissess.

frid 10 returned home.

Sat 11 read something. received a letter from Mrs. Sarah Edwards of *Northampton*, who entirely discourages me from taking a journey again there to visit her sister, who is so near my heart. I am disappointed the Lord teach me to profit may I be resigned.

Sab 12 I preached all Day from Rom: 8. 1.

mun 13 I began my pastoral visits and visited 5 families Dan'll Boynton, Jos[eph]: Jewet, Jonathan Woods, Jacob Ames,¹ James Shattuck.

tues 14 I kept school forenoon for Mr. Ward had 60 scholars afternoon I catechised in the same house had an hundred children present. I went up to Holles at night and lodged.

wen 15 I went in company with Brother Emerson to Townsend Mr. Hemenways lecture, Mr. Trowbridge preached it from the *precious Blood* of Christ. returned home to my lodging, Brother Emerson.

thurs 16 read some entertained company forenoon & afternoon married Abraham Parker to Loes Blood evening.

frid 17 Studied forenoon, afternoon went to the private meeting at Mr. Whites read a sermon of Dr. Watts.

Sat 18 Studied all Day.

Sab 19 preached all Day from Job 19. 25. 26. 27.

mun 20 Visited 5 families, Sam'll Shattuck, Will'm Spaulding, the young widow Parker, Simon Lakin, Nehemiah Hobart.

tues 21 Very much out of order. I have a constant faintness at my stomach, more weak this spring than usual.

¹ Well known as the man who had shot the Indian that killed his father at his garrison house on July 9, 1724. See Green, *Groton during the Indian Wars*, p. 132. This was the last Indian killed in the neighborhood of Groton.

wen 22 able to study some.

thurs 23 public fast A:M: I preached from Isa: 58. 1. P:M: Brother Emerson preached for me the day not being observed in [New] Hampshire from Psal 79. 8, 9.

frid 24 Very faint and weak yet. I wrote two letters to Malden, received visits, went out toward evening with Mr. Ward to see Mr. [William] Prescott.

Sat 25 read some forenoon. Went up to Holles to change with Brother Emerson.

Sab 26 I preached at Holles A:M: from Hoseah 3. 1. P:M: from Mal: 3. 16. came home in the evening.

mun 27 My weakness increases upon me so I am obliged to leave pastoral visits for a time. I rode out and did some business in the parish.

tues 28 I rode up to my place to see my workmen. I had 19 yoke of oxen at work for me and 16 hands all given me my people seem to grow in their kindness to me, blessed be God, they cross ploughed 3 or 4 acres of land.

wen 29 I rode down in town made several visits lodged at Capt. Bulkleys.

thurs 30 attended Mr. Trowbridges lecture Mr. Hemenway preached from Psal: 26. 6. I went to Unkety lodged at Mr. Perkins.

frid 31. returned home and read some.

April Sat 1 able to read to some but little.

Sab 2 I was obliged to preach old sermons all day from Rom: 8: 28.

mun 3 ride over to Lancaster I find riding of service to me under my present weakness.

tues 4 the weather so bad I tarried in town all day. Visited Mr. [Timothy] Harrinton.

wen 5 returned as far as Groton dined at Mr. Seccombs lodged at Major Lawrences.¹

thurs 6 returned home morning our lecture Mr. Trowbridge preached from Prov. 1. 24. the chh stopt after lecture and unanimously renewed their choice of Jer: Lawrence and John

¹ Better known as Colonel William Lawrence.

Spofford for Deacons, who have not yet given their answers tho' they have been chose for 14 months.

frid 7 Fast at Holles Mr. Emerson preached all day from Psal: 79. 8. 9.

Sab 9 Sacrament I preached A:M: from *do this in remembrance of me.* P:M: from *there is no peace saith my God to the wicked.* My weakness still continues.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, and Messrs. GREEN and NORCROSS.